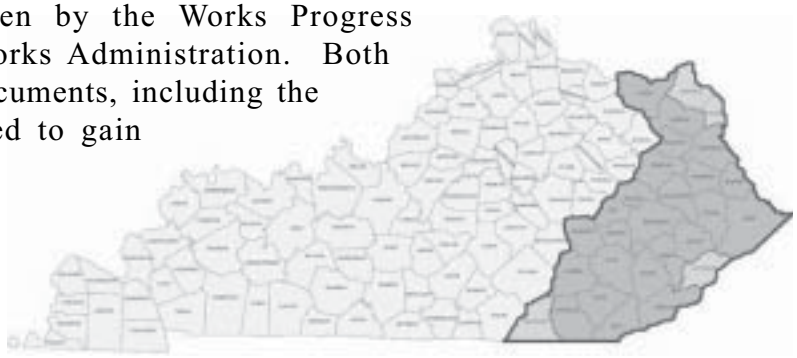
Introduction

> *…the New Deal has had a lasting effect on the state. Early and incomplete statistics revealed that federal programs during the 1930s spent more than $650 million in the state, or roughly $250 for every resident. The immediate effect of this financial infusion was obvious in the revival of Kentucky's economy, and its Keynesian aftereffects remained usable and visible in new roads, bridges, and public facilities… Life was different than it had been, because the New Deal introduced new ideas and accelerated other trends that had already begun in the commonwealth.*
>
> George Blakey, *Hard Times and New Deal in Kentucky*, 1929-1939, 196.

The New Deal has left an enduring legacy upon Kentucky's landscape. In fact, it could be argued that the New Deal's building program altered the Commonwealth's landscape to a degree experienced only during the drastic changes of the settlement period. In sum, new buildings, roads, bridges, whole communities, forests, and even programs to change the cultural landscape of farming came into being in this time period, because of direct federal government involvement. To say this was unprecedented is an understatement at best.

This study intends to examine New Deal history in one area of the state, the Eastern Kentucky Cultural Landscape Region. This region was formally established by the Kentucky Heritage Council as a planning unit to study historic themes and develop preservation contexts. The study area includes the following counties: Bell, Boyd, Breathitt, Carter, Clay, Elliot, Floyd, Greenup, Harlan, Jackson, Johnson, Knott, Knox, Laurel, Lawrence, Lee, Leslie, Letcher, Lewis, McCreary, Magoffin, Martin, Morgan, Owsley, Perry, Pike, Whitley, and Wolfe Counties. While data from all the counties in this study is included, the focus was limited to four specific focus counties. This boundary allowed us to get a more accurate impression of New Deal programs on the local landscape and represent the urban, rural, industrial, and agricultural diversity that exists in the region.

Eastern Kentucky is not, as some have assumed, a culturally homogenous geographic area. Ethnic, cultural/historical, and natural diversity exists throughout the region. To allow for these differences, Letcher, Greenup, Boyd, and McCreary Counties were chosen to represent the region. This selection permitted an analysis of northeast urban Ashland, industrial southeast Letcher County, industrial and forested south-central McCreary County, and Ohio River-oriented Greenup County. In addition to focus counties, we have also examined resources that were representative of particular New Deal agencies, like the Farm Security Administration's Sublimity Forest Community, or ubiquitous resource types, like resources related to improving public health, including the sundry water works, sewers, and outhouses projects undertaken by the Works Progress Administration and the Public Works Administration. Both secondary sources and primary documents, including the sites themselves, were investigated to gain needed information.



Map of Kentucky, showing Eastern Kentucky New Deal study area shaded. The lighter shaded areas are the four focus counties.

"Poster for Works Progress Administration encouraging laborers to work for America, showing a farmer and a laborer." Federal Art Project Artist: Vera Bock. Poster date unknown. (Library of Congress, American Memory WPA Poster Collection. Online at: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/wpaposters/wpahome.html. Hereafter LOC WPA Poster Collection).

Original Cabin at Pine Mountain State Resort Park. Constructed by the CCC. Photo taken in 2004

While we attempted to work with diverse areas across eastern Kentucky, we also encompassed resources from a dizzying array of New Deal era agencies. Following the lead of Joe Brent's 1990 report "New Deal Era Construction in Western Kentucky, 1933-1943," we investigated the New Deal's major building agencies: the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA, known as the Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration or KERA in KY), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the well-known Works Progress Administration (WPA), the National Youth Administration (NYA), and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) from 1933 to 1943. Other New Deal agencies with lesser focus on building, but with a mission to alter Kentucky's relationship with the land were also examined. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), the Rural Resettlement Administration, the Farm Securities Administration (FSA), the Rural Electrification Administration (REA), and the Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) were all crucial in the federal effort to change farming practices and home ownership patterns, and thus the rural and urban cultural landscapes of Kentucky.

The goal of this study was not just to develop a history of the immense impact of the New Deal in East Kentucky, but to document extant resources from the time period, place them in the Heritage Council's survey, and provide guidelines for nominating and evaluating them within the National Register of Historic Places. To accomplish this goal, we conducted a large-scale survey within the focus counties and sent out special survey forms to all localities within the region. The information received has allowed us to incorporate information about determining eligibility standards for New Deal resources in the region. This section will assist preparers of National Register nominations and Section 106 assessments.

This report is organized into six sections. After the project methodology, the second section gives a brief history of the Great Depression and the New Deal

nationally. Since the remainder of the report focuses on the history of the New Deal in Kentucky, this information will not be examined in the brief history, though Kentucky's plight during the Depression will be highlighted. The third section outlines the various New Deal agencies, their impact on Kentucky, and gives examples of property types associated with their tenure. The fourth section is comprised of the results of the comprehensive survey of case study counties. Brief county histories and assessments of extant resources are offered in this portion of the report. The fifth section is also concerned with case studies. In particular, special property types are illuminated by type and by theme. And finally, suggestions for future research and a conclusion complete this report. Appendices with data regarding New Deal projects in the region are located at the end of the report.

Section One

Methodology

The Kentucky Heritage Council and the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet initiated the Eastern Kentucky New Deal Cultural Landscape Study in January 2003. The study began as a mitigation project due to the demolition of a New Deal era school in Elliot County. Because this school was eligible for the National Register and because transportation officials needed clear standards of significance and integrity for New Deal resources, KYTC funded a study of the New Deal in eastern Kentucky. The project was conducted by the Kentucky Heritage Council's Research and Planning Coordinator and a Research Assistant hired specifically for the project.

Project Design

As previously mentioned, the Eastern Kentucky New Deal study is an examination of resources related to eleven New Deal agencies in a 28 county area known as the Eastern Kentucky Cultural Landscape. In order to complete what could have been a multi-year study in a condensed time frame, a decision was made to comprehensively survey three geographically distinct counties and to list potential resources in the remaining 25 counties. This sample strategy would permit a micro-level perspective on the New Deal's impact as well as raise awareness of potentially endangered resources. Shortly after inception, Boyd County was added to the list of focus counties, due to its proximity to Greenup, the availability of local contacts, and the need to include an urban area with great WPA involvement.

In addition to the micro-level survey and study, it became clear that certain resource types outside focus counties should be highlighted as well. Project staff began to compile a list of important resource types that needed additional attention and/or were not covered in the focus counties. Section Five is devoted to these important property types.

Augmenting this effort, the KHC sent special survey forms to local officials, including historical societies, tourism commissions, county judges, school boards, legislators, and mayors. The letter referenced projects built by the seven main study agencies and asked the reader to contribute information regarding any known New Deal era associated resources. This effort yielded 82 survey forms from 14 counties in the survey area, documenting such resources as Campton Elementary School in Wolfe County (WPA) and Jackson City Hall in Breathitt County (WPA). A database with the survey results is located in the Appendix One of this report.

As discussed in the Introduction, the seven main New Deal agencies with a mission in work relief were the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration (KERA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the National Youth Administration (NYA), and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Other New Deal agencies are noted in this report for their impact on the rural landscape, but very little survey work has been done to document their presence.

Issues with Information Sources

Comprehensive project lists for New Deal agencies were difficult, if not impossible, to obtain, due to poor record keeping practices at the time. The WPA, which is one of the better documented agencies, has two main project lists for the state of Kentucky. One is the Goodman-Paxton photographic archive at the University of Kentucky (GP, 64M1) and the other is the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) WPA Project Index at the Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives (KDLA) (NARA Record Group 2920). While the discrepancies among these lists will be discussed in the WPA agency synopsis in Section Three, it is clear that they are not comprehensive, as projects not on either list have been documented. The CCC archives are likewise incomplete. Information about CCC camps and projects were garnered from CCC Camp newsletters at the Kentucky Historical Society and at the CCC website online: http://www.cccalumni.org. Additionally, some information about specific camps was uncovered at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA Record Group 35). Again, secondary source research from the counties has made it obvious that these records are not inclusive.

PWA records were uncovered at NARA. Regrettably, the list of PWA projects includes only non-federal projects, that is those projects with a state or local sponsor, and does not even contain the proper name of the resource. For example, project number 2829 is a school in Stearns. We just don't know which school in Stearns was constructed or remodeled. The CWA records, on the other hand, are much more specific. Like the WPA records, they list the county, city, and name of the resource. However, they do not list the location of the project, and you may or may not find a photo of the completed structure. In spite of this oversight, the CWA records (NARA Record Group 2920, Series 65-67) at KDLA actually include county summaries of work that notes whether the project was completed. The WPA NARA index does not tell us whether a project was either started or completed. Similar project lists for TVA, KERA, and NYA were unable to be found by project staff. Resources associated with their tenure were revealed through primary source research in *Kentucky City* magazine, and through the very few annual reports published by respective project administrators in the state. Thus, an attempt was made to list all resources located in the project area,. Unfortunately, the disheveled state of the records have not allowed for such discovery.

In addition to these sources, numerous secondary and primary sources were consulted to gain a broader perspective on the New Deal, both in Kentucky and on the national level. Books like George Blakey's *Hard Times and New Deal in Kentucky, 1929-1939* and T.H. Watkins' *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s* were important to development of a context for the New Deal. Primary sources were also crucial in gaining a better understanding. Reports of the various agencies, such as the *Annual Report of the Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration Work Division April 1, 1934 to July 1, 1935*, shed light on New Deal projects. Specific information about the project area was obtained through county histories and journals. *Kentucky City* magazine from 1930 to 1943, a publication of the Kentucky Municipal League and Kentucky Firemen's Association, and *Mountain Life and Work* in the 1930s were extremely helpful. *Kentucky City* was especially useful, as it contained information about the region and New Deal work projects, as well as general contextual information about broad concepts that concerned New Deal planners, like public health and recreation. The magazine only includes information on urban or small town projects.

Issues with Fieldwork

In the meantime, local officials in the focus counties and in the area with special case study resources were contacted and asked to assist with field work. Field work for this project was particularly difficult. The data on WPA and CCC rarely give exact locations for the resources. Because of this gap in information and because project lists, drawings, and photos were readily available for CCC and WPA, a decision was made to survey these resources in their entirety. Other agencies, like the PWA, were presumed to have little impact on the survey area, because of secondary sources that asserted that PWA was only concerned with large federal enterprises. However, it became apparent, upon further research, that the PWA actually conducted many small-scale non-federal projects in Kentucky and in the region. Regrettably, this discovery did not happen in time to survey PWA resources for the report. Another agency that is under-represented in the survey section of this report is the CWA. The CWA was assumed, because of research in secondary sources, to be not as prolific as the WPA or CCC. Again, this assumption was proven false, upon primary source investigations. In sum, the project staff became aware of this information too late to actually include it in the county survey portion of this report. In the future, New Deal researchers should be aware that fairly adequate information exists for both of these agencies in particular. Researchers who are interested in the New Deal should also understand that the WPA was not the only builder, in spite of its large progeny.

In order to find the WPA and CCC resources, project staff had to rely on a large group of local historians and city/county officials to decide where resources were located, whether they were standing or had been demolished, and in some instances whether they had been built at all. While all of the local informants were excellent and generous with their time, there were a few cases in which a building thought to be extant could not be found and cases in which a building believed to be demolished was actually extant. In some instances, no local informant had heard of the project, so staff was unable to survey it.

The latter difficulty is particularly true of road projects. Roads constructed by the WPA were identified from the Goodman-Paxton Collection. County highway maps were used to locate identified roads. This endeavor met with little success, though some roads were documented using this method. Assumedly, roads names changed over time as they transitioned from farm-to-market roads to numbered county roads. Local contacts proved to be a helpful resource regarding the location of certain rural roads, especially in McCreary County. Urban streets listed in the Goodman-Paxton archive were only identified by the community in which they were located. No specific street names were provided, making documentation of these resources impossible without more details.

McCreary County also contained a number of truck trails constructed by the CCC that were identified in CCC Newsletters. Since the forest lands in this county are managed by the U.S. Forest Service, truck trails would likely be located within the boundaries of the Daniel Boone National Forest. The U.S. Forest Service contact, Randy Boedy, was consulted to verify whether the locations of the truck trails were mapped. He reported that there was no such documentation. Without maps, the identification of truck trails was not possible. Since truck trails are often located in remote locations with rough terrain, a four-wheel drive vehicle would also be required for documentation. In sum, the process of survey and field work was

imperfect from its inception, but it was the best way to attempt to comprehensively survey a large number of resources within the focus area.

Other difficulties existed in the field work design that should be noted here. Some of the New Deal agencies dealt with projects that were by nature not easily recorded. For instance, sanitary sewer systems are nearly impossible to document, since they exist below ground. In addition, some of the resources are better studied by archaeologists, foresters, or landscape architectural historians, as they concern earthworks done for CCC projects or CCC reforestation projects that drastically altered the way land was used in the project area. In sum, not all resources could be documented by the project staff of architectural historians.

Field work was conducted in the four project counties and on special case study sites. As noted previously, Letcher, Greenup, Boyd, and McCreary Counties were selected as focus counties. Field work began in Letcher County in March 2004 and was completed in November 2004. Boyd and Greenup Counties were surveyed in June and October 2004, and McCreary County was surveyed in May 2004 and again in November 2004. Counties were surveyed for all WPA and CCC sites, as adequate information was assumed not to exist for the other New Deal agencies. The results of the focus county fieldwork are located in the Section Four of this report.

Section Two

Brief History of the Great Depression and the New Deal

> *Odie Stallings had been seduced by the same dream, settling in Inkster after finding work in the "black department" at the Ford Plant in River Rouge. He married, and he and his wife, Freda, soon produced two sons. She was pregnant with their third when Ford shut down operations in August 1931. Shortly thereafter, Freda gave birth to another boy. With no income, the Stallings family, like most of those in Inkster, lived on a diet that was often reduced to nothing but starches and water, and Odie dropped from 160 to 125 pounds. His wife was even more wasted, and her breasts were nearly dry; she fed the baby from a bottle filled with flour and water when she could not nurse him herself. Odie trudged the city streets and county roads all over Wayne County in search of any kind of work until his shoes were worn to less than shreds and he could no longer walk long distances. He patched his lightless and heatless shack with newspapers to keep out the cold but when winter closed down on the ghetto like a fist, the children hacked and coughed incessantly, including the baby, who grew increasingly sick. The parents slept with the infant between them on the narrow bed to keep him warm, but nothing helped, and one morning when they woke he was dead. They put the tiny body in a cardboard box and walking close together under a gray morning sky the family carried their burden up the rutted muddy street and buried it in the makeshift cemetery next to the little community church.*
>
> T.H. Watkins, *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s*, 74.

Stories like those told of Odie Stallings, a factory worker in Michigan, can seem somewhat sensational to our modern eyes. Was there ever a time when good American people were starving in the streets? In fact, the Great Depression was that time. Narratives like those of the Stallings family are fairly typical of the early 1930s, before Roosevelt's New Deal. Stories of extreme deprivation such as those of Iowa farmers desperate enough to threaten county judges if a mortgage holder was not released from their obligations; miners in Appalachia storming local grocery stores for food to feed their emaciated families; businessmen so distraught that they commit suicide rather than live in poverty; fruit pickers in California living in shanty towns moving from job to job; and transient families like those depicted in Steinbeck's classic *The Grapes of Wrath*.

"Mountaineer with his two grandsons whom he raised in his home with the help of the neighbors. He had been crippled with arthritis most of his life. On the steps of a schoolhouse on South Fork of Kentucky River. Breathitt County, Kentucky." Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, September, 1940. (Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, hereafter FSAOWI).

Statistics support these anecdotal observations. For instance, between 1930 and 1931, 3,646 banks failed, taking over $2.6 billion in private deposits with them. During the same period of time, 54,640 businesses failed at a rate of 133 failures per 10,000 businesses. The value of farm property declined from $78.3 billion in 1920 to $51.8 billion in 1931. Unemployment by early 1932 was at an all time high of nearly 12 million persons. Elsewhere across the country, farms were foreclosed upon at records rates, shack communities called "Hoovervilles" sprung up outside major cities for the new homeless population, and transiency rates among the young and old alike were appallingly high. It was not just the poorest of the poor that were unemployed and starving, but a whole generation of working and middle class Americans whose futures were in peril the magnitude of which never has been seen. (Watkins 1993, 55-56).

Historians have rankled for the last 75 years about what caused the stock market crash and subsequent ten year long economic

Depression. While there are a multitude of reasons for the unprecedented decline, most historians concur that the crisis was due to a decline in wages and an increase in debt among the working and middle classes both here and in Europe. A scarcity of global capital to purchase American-made goods coupled with a significant increase in American productivity in the factory and on the farm logically followed the former problems. In other words, the downturn was an issue of supply and demand. The American economy, the world's most productive at that time, was efficiently producing more goods for consumption, but the wage-earners here and in Europe couldn't afford to purchase much, as real wages did not increase during the period. Meanwhile, speculation on the stock market and on the farm, which involved purchasing and planting more and more land to make additional revenues, was at an all time high. The money, however, was not based upon savings, but upon borrowed money from a feverishly speculative banking industry. In terms of the farm economy, taxes began to skyrocket and labor and production costs increased. At the same time, agricultural produce declined in price, creating many personal financial disasters. The banking industry shared much of the blame, as bankers encouraged speculation and made many questionable loans and mortgages. In the end, all of these factors combined to create the severe economic crisis that became the worst worldwide social and economic Depression in modern history. (Watkins 1993, 40-47).

In order to assist with this crisis, President Herbert Hoover enjoined private charities, like the Red Cross and church-based organizations, to appeal to the "natural generosity of the American people" through fund-raising relief efforts. But, with little capital available through private sources, endeavors such as these were doomed to fail. Hoover's philosophy on relief fueled these failed efforts. Hoover believed, as did a great many Americans at the time, that the federal government's role in private citizen's lives should be minimal. The free market should provide all the benefits of modern life to those who were honest and worked hard. After all, Hoover himself came from humble circumstances and was now the President of the most powerful country in the world. It is important to remember here that federal-state government programs, like Social Security, Federal Deposit Insurance, unemployment insurance, and other so-called safety nets had not been created. Thus, when you were unemployed or elderly, you had to rely on the kindness of others. If you were lucky, you could live on savings— if your bank didn't fail. There was no guarantee against starvation or deprivation, as it was not considered the responsibility of the federal government. These programs had to wait until the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Dealers.

Given Hoover's reluctance to intervene with direct federal government power and his bizarre insistence that, "No one is going hungry and no one need go hungry and cold." (Watkins 1993, 56), it was with great reluctance that he initiated federal intervention into the realm of private business. FDR is frequently given credit for governmental intervention into the private sector, but it was Hoover that founded one of the New Deal's main organizations, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). The RFC was established in 1932 to stimulate industry and agriculture through direct congressional appropriation, and was one of the only agencies to survive and prosper in FDR's White House. The RFC provided loans for public work projects, long before the initiation of the PWA or WPA. Other agencies created by Hoover were less effectual, mainly because they relied on voluntary enforcement. The National Credit Corporation, for example, was established as a vehicle for healthy banks to voluntarily assist unhealthy ones; it collapsed after two years of very little activity. (Watkins 1993, 62).

The Great Depression in Kentucky

> *This is just a matter of news, in the last few minutes a fight started out in front of our office, and one man tried to enter our office, the doorkeeper opened the door and was run over by the first man, the second stopped by the doorkeeper, who stabbed the doorkeeper, hearing the commotion I rushed out and the street was full of men fighting each other with drawn pistols, I called the Police and tried to separate some of the fighters, soon the riot squad arrived and cleaned up the whole mess of them…We are sitting on a keg of powder, we start up tomorrow with about 175 men to cut off, lots of them desperate and mean as the devil, it is my job to go out on the job and notify the men of the reduction, there will not be many smiles when they hear the news…*
>
> Bell County CWA Project Officer, J.H. McGiboney, January 22nd 1935 to CWA Officials in Louisville. NARA Record Group 2920, *CWA Kentucky Correspondences* at the Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, Archives Room, Drawer 502, Roll 38.

The effects of the Depression in Kentucky were no different than those in the nation at large. As the quote above illustrates, many Kentuckians were thrown out of work and suffered the consequences of a depressed national economy, which included desperation and sometimes violence. In fact, Kentucky's economy had shown symptoms of poor health, long prior to the 1929 stock market crash.

It has often been noted that Kentucky entered the Depression after the first Great War ended. (Harrison and Klotter 1997; Blakey 1986; Eller 1982). Prices for key agricultural produce had fallen each year since the late 1910s. Coupled with overproduction, glutted markets, and systemic misuse of lands by timber and mining companies, income from agricultural endeavors plummeted in the state. Tobacco was the only exception to this rule, as people were still smoking. But, tobacco farmers and processors soon felt the impact of a gradually decreased purchasing power as well. Further exacerbating the situation was approval of the Eighteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in 1919, outlawing beer and liquor. This amendment, which prohibited "the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes," in essence destroyed one of Kentucky's most important industries—production of bourbon whiskey and beer. (http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/data/constitution/amendment18/) "Before the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, more than two hundred Kentucky distilleries and breweries had supplied bourbon and beer to international markets and had employed more than four thousand workers. Only a handful of distilleries remained in operation in 1930, and their product was now marketed through narrowly constricted pharmaceutical channels." (Blakey 1986, 7). Added to this was a downturn in the coal industry, which resulted from an increasing utilization of electricity and oil for energy purposes and a subsequent decline in use of the shiny black rock. "In 1927 more than 600 mines, employing sixty-four thousand miners, were operating in the state; by 1929 only 451 mines were still open, and only fifty-seven thousand miners worked there." (Blakey 1986, 7). In eastern Kentucky, the decline in coal production was particularly devastating.

"Abandoned tipple and coal miners' homes, some of whom still remain on relief, near Chavies, Perry County, Kentucky." Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, September, 1940. (FSAOWI).

All of these factors, along with a severe drought in the early 1930s, combined to create a bleak situation. When the effects of the national Depression became evident by the early 1930s, Kentuckians were dealt a fatal blow. As with the rest of the nation, Kentucky banks closed at record rates. While the usual rate of closure was ten a year in the 1920s, over 120 Kentucky banks shut their doors from 1930 to 1932, taking depositors' cash with them. Some banks reopened later, and returned up to 60 percent of depositors' assets. But, the majority did not restart operations, leaving businesses and the struggling middle and working classes strapped for cash. In sum, this situation not only frightened customers from making deposits, further creating more crises, but also severely constrained operating funds for commercial and retail businesses. As a result, many businesses closed their doors. "In 1929 there were 2,246 industries operating with approximately seventy-seven thousand production workers. By 1933 almost one half of those industries were closed, and twenty-one thousand of their workers idled. These industrial collapses gradually took down with them retail and commercial businesses; 245 Kentucky firms declared insolvency in 1930, a larger number the following year, and in 1932, 356 businesses failed." (Blakey 1986, 11). "By 1930, 29 thousand Kentuckians were unwillingly unemployed; in 1931, that number exceeded 42 thousand." (Blakey 1986, 12).

In eastern Kentucky, the economic crisis was even more pointed. Because many East Kentucky communities relied on coal as the single industry and because some workers lived in towns owned and operated solely by coal companies, the effects of the Depression were intense. Put simply, many coal miners were out-of-work and out of a place to live, as they were evicted from company housing. "In the coal fields, company after company folded under the pressure of falling prices, and unemployment claimed an ever-growing number of miners. Operators abandoned the worst of the company towns and neglected to maintain the rest." (Eller 1982, 238). Further, "Of the 622 mines that had operated that year [1927], only 380 survived by the end of 1932, and twenty-four thousand of the sixty-four thousand miners employed during 1927 had lost their jobs." (Blakey 1986, 12). Other statistics show that workers' incomes were significantly curtailed during the decade, as "the average per capita earnings of coal miners declined from $851 in 1923 to $588 in 1929, and to the unbelievably low point of $235 in 1933. In that year, a relief worker in eastern Kentucky reported that 'cold, hunger, and disease' had taken a tremendous toll, closing in on the coal camps 'to an extent almost without parallel in any group in the country.'" (Eller 1982, 239). Added to this turmoil was the insistence by workers for a fair wage, safety, and a sense of job security, and the equally firm position by coal companies to keep the workforce un-unionized. Much has been made of the so-called coal wars of the 1930s on the national, state, and local scene; most of which is sensational, inaccurate, and denying the complexity of the situation. In sum, the coal wars and "Bloody Harlan" in particular, represented a fight to survive through extremely hard times, after several decades of promise. A 1935 state investigating committee laid the blame, in the case of Harlan, at the feet of coal operators who had created "a virtual reign of terror." (Harrison and Klotter 1997, 366). But, the coal wars represent an even larger struggle—a battle for the lives of the miners and their families through the dark days of the Great Depression.

As noted before, agricultural prices had experienced extreme declines in the decade prior to the 1930s. So, efforts by mountain families to sustain a livelihood through farming were unsuccessful. But many families, including out-migrants, attempted just that. As historian Ron Eller notes, "Although the amount of land in farms remained relatively stable from 1930 to 1940, the number of farms rose significantly during the Depression years. As migrants to

urban centers beyond the mountains returned with larger families, they found that the land which had sustained their ancestors could no longer support the population in a manner even marginally consistent with the demands of modern life. The returned migrants added an extra burden to an already ailing agricultural system." (Eller 1982, 239). The result of all of this turmoil and deprivation was, of course, devastating. Even in areas where coal production was not as essential to economic health, the depressed economy made its mark. The national, state, and local economies were more connected than they had ever been, and there was no escaping the consequences.

For Millions of Yet Unborn

> *Who can assure jobs to the millions of employable men and women in this country now on the dole or work relief, and pay them wages adequate to buy and sell the goods and services which others of us want to sell—and must sell before we can reemploy our idle workers? …One agency alone is able to give us such assurance. It is the agency which represents us all collectively—the Federal Government.*
>
> David Cushman Cole 1935, *Brass Tacks*, 78.

By 1932, Hoover's reelection seemed in doubt. The worsening Depression combined with a bloody confrontation with veterans of the First World War in Washington, known as the Bonus Army, that fall contributed to a landslide victory by former New York Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Roosevelt took office in March 1933. Before FDR could take office, the crisis intensified. In the first two months of 1933, over 4,000 banks failed with $3.6 billion in deposits. (Watkins 1993, 115). One of FDR's first accomplishments in office was to close banks for a holiday until the situation could be stabilized. By 9 March, the democrat-controlled Congress, swept in on FDR's coat tails, passed the Emergency Banking Act of 1933 that would halt decline in the financing industry through a combination of loans from the RFC and other measures. Many banks were able to reopen within the month.

"Roosevelt sits at the steering wheel of his automobile in April 1939." (http://www.time.com/time/time100/leaders/profile/fdr.html).

The first few months of the Roosevelt administration are often referred to as the "first Hundred Days." According to T.H. Watkins, historian of the New Deal, "In the dizzying span of weeks that would come to be called the first Hundred Days, Roosevelt and his people set in motion more administrative actions and initiated more legislation than at any similar period of history before or since." (Watkins 1993, 122). Including the banking overhaul, which created the Federal Deposit Insurance (FDIC) and expanded powers for the Federal Reserve, the New Deal swept through the halls of Congress with little to no debate. It seemed that FDR had been handed a mandate to get the country back on track. It must be stressed here that Roosevelt was not a left-wing ideologue. He tended to be fiscally conservative and created programs that attempted to regulate the capitalist system. He feared communism, but understood that without systemic changes a workers' revolution was likely. His reforms were efforts to support the fledgling capitalist economy through incentives to restart ailing businesses and to ensure higher wages, and thus purchasing power, by the working and middle classes.

Among the first programs established was the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)[1] in May 1933, financed by an appropriation of $500 million from the RFC. (Watkins 1993, 124). FERA was intended to provide immediate relief to indigent families across the nation. As its colorful director Harry Hopkins said, "Hunger is not debatable," and famously, when a more gradual program was suggested, Hopkins replied, "People don't eat in the long-run—they eat every day." (Watkins 1993, 123 and 127).

Generally conceived as a federal-state partnership, in that the federal government offered $1 to every $3 by the states, the program provided much of its relief in the form of vouchers for food, rent, coal, and heating oil. (Blakey 1986, 46). The federal government, in a sad irony of the hungry Depression years, was responsible for destroying agricultural goods from farmer's surplus in order to stabilize markets and bring prices down. Upon intense outcry across the nation, the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation (FSRC) began donating surplus to FERA and other relief efforts. Through the FSRC, FERA distributed "9.4 million pounds of fresh apples, 6.8 million pounds of beans, 290.9 million pounds of tinned beef, 190.5 million pounds of flour, and 297.6 million pounds of pork," before its end in 1935.

The program's popularity was overshadowed by the reliance on the "straight dole." Roosevelt, and indeed most Americans, found direct government charity shameful. Contemporary observers declared that work was much preferable to welfare. While FERA had maintained a small work program, it became clear that there was need for a larger works program—one that could put the unemployed back to work.

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was founded in November 1933 by the President and Harry Hopkins to fill this void, and create "self-respect" for the country. (NARA Record Group 2920, Series 65, Federal CWA Administration, 3). The program, which was administered by FERA, was intended to carry the nation through the winter of 1933-34, beginning in November 1933 and ending in May 1934. Although a short-lived program, the CWA was responsible for an enormous public works program, the likes of which had never been seen. In mid-January, for instance, nearly four million persons were employed on public works projects across the nation with over $62 million spent on roads, parks, playgrounds, schools, airports, and etc. (Watkins 1993, 126). All told, nearly a billion dollars was spent by CWA's closure in the spring of 1934. Perhaps more importantly, CWA established precedent for a federal government sponsored work program. Indeed, it captured the imagination of the American public until the creation of a new agency specifically charged with this purpose, the Works Progress Administration. In the meantime, the FERA took over the remaining uncompleted CWA projects and administered a few new projects.

At the same time that FERA was experimenting with relief approaches, the President created one of the most ubiquitous federal work programs—the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Like his cousin, former President Theodore Roosevelt, FDR was intensely interested in conservation issues, especially concerning silviculture. Early in his term in March 1933, Roosevelt successfully merged two of his main interest—work relief and a concern for the natural environment. Congress gave the President full authority to create what was initially known as the Civilian Corps Reforestation Youth Rehabilitation Movement, thereafter

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[1] More will be said of all the main New Deal agencies in the next section of the report.

FDR at a CCC Camp in Virginia, 12 August, 1933. "L-R: Maj. Gen. Paul B. Malone; Col. Louis Howe, Secretary to President; Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of Interior; Robert Fechner, Director Emergency Conservation Work; FDR; Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture; Rexford Tugwell, Administrator of Resettlement Administration." Photo source: National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). (New Deal Network Photo Library. Online at: http://newdeal.feri.org/library/default.cfm. Hereafter: NARA (New Deal Network)).

shortened to Civilian Conservation Corps. The President returned the CCC to Congress as the Emergency Conservation Act by the end of March. The CCC had as its charge to rehabilitate young men, and they were all men, in healthful forest surroundings by doing needed conservation work on state and federal lands. CCC enrollees planted trees, built fire towers, made improvements at recreational sites, assisted local farms with modern farming techniques, created soil erosion programs, and the like. Administered by four separate federal agencies, the CCC hired single men (though this was later changed) ages 18-25 from families on relief rolls and placed them in camps for training and work. Their pay was around $30 a month, $25 of which was to be returned to their families. By the end of the program in 1943, the CCC had employed over 2.5 million men and had planted approximately 2.3 billion trees. (Blakey 1986, 80). The CCC was administered by Robert Fechner, a representative from the newly burgeoning labor movement. Fechner is important to mention because of his role in the CCC. While an able and enthusiastic director of the program, Fechner was a white southerner not particularly interested in attempting racial equality in the camps. Consequently, CCC camps were typically segregated by race and African Americans were given a national quota that they did not exceed until the coming of WWII in the early 1940s.

Fechner is somewhat symbolic of New Deal efforts in general. The personality of the agency's director was influential in deciding whether race or gender was celebrated or ignored. Aubrey Williams, Director of the National Youth Administration, made every effort to integrate blacks and whites and provide for young girls, while Fechner allowed institutional racism to occur with little protest. FERA and CWA, spurred on by Harry Hopkins and Eleanor Roosevelt, created a women's division that promoted work relief for females, but the efforts toward this were never on par with those for men. Thus, many of the New Deal programs contained an inherent bias. While the President and particularly the First Lady were progressives, politically they could not risk dismantling of their agenda by more conservative Southern Democrats, whose votes they needed in Congress. This situation, combined with the fact that many of these programs were administered on the local level, where views might have been more conservative, tended to mean that the benefits of the New Deal were not equally shared by all.

Another of the main New Deal agencies came about during the first Hundred Days. The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) Title II created the Public Works Administration (PWA). Title I of the Act concerned the establishment of the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which was responsible for developing wage and price codes, as well as standardized working hours and conditions. These conditions and controls, which were to be agreed upon by labor and industry, were overturned by the Supreme Court in 1935, later to be revived in separate legislation. The controversy also extended to the establishment of the National Labor

Board, which gave labor unions the right to organize and collectively bargain. The PWA, though, had no such problems. Under the enigmatic, perfectionist personality of Harold Ickes, the agency thrived. Often criticized for its slow pace, the PWA was one of the major builders of the New Deal. The agency constructed large-scale federal projects and non-federal projects, like local waterworks, sanitary sewer systems, bridges, schools, courthouses, and hospitals. Unlike Hopkins, Ickes insisted that every project have a complete and thorough review and that money was used most efficiently. By the time of its dissolution in 1939, the PWA "would finance a total of 34,508 projects at a cost of a little more than $6 billion" (Watkins 1993, 144).

Other important New Deal efforts initiated during the first years of FDR's presidency include: the 1933 Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) whose charge was to provide cheap electricity and fertilizers as well as projects to insure flood control and navigation in the Tennessee drainage basin; the 1933 Farm Relief Act, which created the Farm Credit Administration for assistance with farm mortgages and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) that began the federal government practice of controlling production by paying farmers not to cultivate their land; and the 1933 Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) responsible for rewriting mortgages for urban homeowners at longer terms and lower interest rates, thus preventing many foreclosures.

The Second New Deal

The 1934 congressional elections were supposed by the New Dealers to be a bellwether for approval of the reforms carried out so far. If the Democrats held or gained seats, the voters approved of the President and the democratic program. In fact, the Democrats did quite well in the fall 1934 elections, gaining nine seats in the House and held a large ruling majority in the Senate. To FDR and the New Dealers, the election was a relief and a mandate. The people wanted more of the same. (Watkins 1993, 240).

But while the economy was improved, it was not appreciably better. At the end of 1934, average worker salaries were below the poverty level and unemployment stood at twelve million. (Watkins 1993, 246). Industry had not yet recovered. Again, Roosevelt and his allies gathered strength and began a new "surge of reform" that became known as the Second New Deal. (Watkins 1993, 247).

Given the successes of the initial work programs, like the CWA, it is no surprise that a works relief plan was among the most important newly conceived schemes. Roosevelt, Hopkins, and others felt that work programs gave relief recipients pride in their accomplishments and a degree of self-respect. And, people liked these programs. In 1935, upon the dissolution of FERA, the President went to Congress with the Emergency Relief Appropriations (ERA) Act. Interestingly, ERA contained few details about the new program, other than it was to be a work program and the initial appropriation was $4 million. In a striking vote of confidence, Congress passed the bill with only a vague notion of the program to follow. By early summer 1935, the Works Progress Administration (WPA, later known as the Works Projects Administration) had begun work projects with the indefatigable Harry Hopkins at its head.

The WPA is probably the best known of all the New Deal agencies, other than the Three Cs. Historian T.H. Watkins waxes poetically about it in his book, "It was the most massive and comprehensive effort ever undertaken in the nation's history up to that time to ensure that every able-bodied American male—and even some able-bodied American females—would be able to earn at least the basic needs for themselves and their families. Even more than the New Deal's earlier relief programs, it was responsible for the creation of a new and immutable intimacy between the people and their government—an intimacy so thoroughly in place today that it is difficult to remember that this was once a revolutionary concept." (Watkins 1993, 248).

The WPA was the major public works builder of the New Deal, other than PWA. From 1935 to its conclusion in the early 1940s, the agency was responsible for millions of public buildings, bridges, roads, schools, parks, and airports. "Over the course of its life, the WPA would employ more than 8.5 million people in three thousand counties across the land on 1.4 million individual projects. " (Watkins 1993, 249). In addition to bricks and mortar projects, the WPA supported numerous artists, writers, musicians, historians, and theatrical performers through work projects. Among the many important projects undertaken by these groups were the Federal Theater Project, the *American Guide* state book series, the Historic American Building Survey (HABS), and the Federal Art Project. Women were also included in the WPA's promise of work. Jobs were provided in sewing, recreational projects, nursery school work, school lunch programs, and the like. Additionally, professional jobs were encouraged by the program. Employment ranged from developing property value assessment programs on the local level, to cataloging and copying wills and deeds for county officials. Probably because of its large progeny, WPA has become synonymous with many people as The New Deal.

WPA worked as a partnership among the local, state, and federal levels. Projects were typically sponsored on the local level and then sent to the state WPA office for approval. If accepted, then it was on to Washington. Workers were selected off local relief rolls and could be employed as professionals, skilled or unskilled laborers, for women's projects, art projects, etc., depending on their interest and expertise.

The Second New Deal also addressed the nation's youth. Eleanor Roosevelt was particularly concerned with the generation that was growing up during the Depression. Contemporary observers concluded that the effects of the decline were increased cynicism and a sense of desperation and alienation. Novelist Martha Gellhorn wrote in a letter to Harry Hopkins, "I would find it hard…to describe the understandable and terrifying cynicism of these children…I don't know whether this hopelessness will turn into suicidal Depression or into recklessness." (Watkins 1993, 258). The First Lady had noticed this alarming propensity herself, and asked, "What are we going to say to our youth who are not wanted in industry?" (Watkins 1993, 258).

" Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt taken while addressing the National Conference, on the problems of the Negro and Negro Youth." 12 January, 1939. Photo source: NARA. (New Deal Network).

It wasn't so much what they said, as what they did. The National Youth Administration (NYA) was created by Presidential Executive Order in June 1935 to be administered under the WPA. With former FERA deputy director Aubrey Williams in charge, the agency attempted to uplift the lives of the nation's youth through programs intended to keep them in primary and secondary school, send them to college, or help them find appropriate work. The NYA, unlike the CCC, was intended for young girls as well as boys. Though this was a mandate of the program, Williams was a strong proponent of women and African Americans rights and never allowed the agency's charge to stray from its actual workings. As with the WPA, NYA students and workers were selected from families off the relief rolls.

There were a few main programs of the NYA. The most popular of these was the student work program. This project gave high school and college students part-time jobs in exchange for small salaries and a promise to stay in school. Around two million students participated nationwide. The out-of-school program was less well-known, but it contributed to students' self-worth through small scale work projects, vocational training and placement, and other educational enrichment programs. In terms of building projects, the NYA workers constructed public buildings, recreational facilities, landscaped and improved public sites, and cleaned and maintained public buildings and grounds. Though not their primary mission, the NYA are responsible for some of the handsomest buildings of the New Deal era. The NYA is also noted for residence centers, which were intended to teach rural children culture and social skills. Often constructed by NYA or CCC workers, these structures served as a temporary home to selected NYA students. (Watkins 1993, 259).

The Second New Deal did not ignore farmers and rural people. Because the plight of farmers was so essential to the nation's prosperity, Roosevelt made several tries at ameliorating the worst rural conditions. Aside from price controls, the New Deal established programs to assist and sometimes relocate rural residents who were farming unproductive land. Whether victims of severe drought and overworked land, landholders with few tillable acres, or sharecroppers and tenants, the President attempted to meet their needs first in FERA's rural rehabilitation program in the early part of his administration. It quickly became clear that the effort was not sufficient. In 1935, the Rural Resettlement Administration (RRA) was established, from its roots as the Subsistence Homestead project in the Department of the Interior, into an agency devoted to these issues. Its director, Rexford Tugwell, was a strong proponent of decentralization into small farming communities and, as the name suggests, relocating farm families to better holdings. Under Tugwell's leadership, the agency constructed a few decentralized communities, including the "greenbelt" towns of Greenville Ohio, Greenbelt Maryland, and Greendale, Wisconsin. RRA was much less successful in moving farmers off marginal lands, as only 4,441 families were resettled. (Watkins 1993, 262). This agency was eventually merged into the Farm Securities Administration after passage of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act in 1937. Similar aims were at play in its new home at the Department of Agriculture, but it had new responsibilities to tenant and sharecropper families of assisting with purchase of rented lands, animals, feed, seed, and machinery. (Watkins 1993, 296). The idea was to cease the decades-old exploitation of the rural poor and rehabilitate their farmsteads. The program enjoyed a few successes, but was not generally well-received.

Perhaps the most sweeping changes came in the guise of the Rural Electrification Administration (REA), a New Deal agency established in May 1935. The REA, which was

financed by the RFC, delivered the most significant changes for farm families of any New Deal attempt. The agency was charged with getting more farm families equipped with modern electricity. As strange as it may sound to urban dwellers, who had benefited from electricity since the late nineteenth century, most farm families lived and worked in a dark, cold world. (Blakey 1986, 140-141). "As late as 1935, only 12.6 percent of all American farms were electrified." (Watkins 1993, 262).

The difficulty with electrification was not from a lack of desire among rural residents; rather there were no incentives for private electric companies to conduct such work. Since customers were scattered across the countryside, it was cost-prohibitive for private companies to develop the lines. Banks, for their part, were not eager to offer easy terms to rural cooperatives willing to undertake the work themselves. The REA changed all of this. By offering low-cost loans to rural cooperatives and incentives to private companies, light could be shed across the countryside. Though REA became an independent entity in 1936, its progress could still be held accountable to the New Deal. As of 1941, there were "771 systems with 348,000 miles of transmission lines serving more than nine thousand customers representing 35 percent of farms…" (Watkins 1993, 263).

Among the other major provisions of the middle 1930s was the development of an old-age pension system. Lobbied for years by eccentric California doctor Francis Townsend and Louisiana populist Huey Long, benefits for the elderly was a top priority for the second New Deal. Roosevelt had crafted a system like this in 1930 with a statewide old-age pension program for New York, but nothing like it had ever been proposed on a national level. The initial proposal called for an old age pension plan, unemployment insurance, a worker's compensation plan, and a national health insurance program. Though health insurance was dropped from the final legislation, the Social Security Act of 1935 was signed on 7 August 1935. The plan, according to Roosevelt, was "politics all the way through. We put those payroll contributions in there so as to give the contributors a legal, moral, and political right to collect their pensions and the unemployment benefits. With those taxes in there, no damn politician can ever scrap my social security program." (Watkins 1993, 271). In terms of its workings, the program was intended to be a partnership between state and federal governments, matched by the employer. Though widely considered a confusing piece of legislation, the Act has meant comfort and security to elderly and unemployed Americans for generations.

In 1936, FDR faced reelection for a second term. In spite of labor unrest, unleashed by Title I Section 7(a) of the NIRA, a slowly rebounding economy, and dissatisfaction by radicals on the right and left, Roosevelt easily defeated Republican candidate Alfred Landon of Kansas. Democratic candidates in the House and Senate won as well, leading to an unprecedented majority in both chambers. In sum, the programs instituted by the New Dealers had given Americans optimism about the federal government and the economy. Most Americans knew that Roosevelt would not wait for things to get better, if it got bad, he would act right away.

Roosevelt did not inaugurate any additional New Deal programs after 1936, but augmented existing programs when necessary. In fact, the President, always cautious about budget deficits, asked for decreased funding for popular programs like the WPA and PWA. As the economy had remained stable, this move made sense. But, another recession loomed in the background.

Beginning in 1937, several factors combined to create this small recession. Understandably, Americans were saving more and spending less, which led to a sluggish economy. This situation, along with the removal of the first social security taxes from paychecks and a decline in funding for the WPA and PWA, led to a small crisis, the first hint of which was another minor stock market crash and a subsequent rise in unemployment.

Given the potential crisis, the New Dealers acted quickly to "prime the pump" by adding additional monies to the WPA and PWA in 1938. The PWA received an extra $1 billion, while the WPA acquired $1.4 billion. In spite of some very public disagreements with the President over appointees to the federal courts, Congress quickly acted to disburse these funds. By summer 1938, economic indicators appeared to be returning to 1936 levels.

The economy, though, was the least of anyone's worries. Americans were beginning to look nervously at German, Italian, and Japanese aggression toward neighboring countries. The Germans and Italians had become increasingly involved in the Spanish Civil War, while the Japanese attacked an American vessel, the Panay, that was in China for a peace-keeping mission. In the meantime, Jewish citizens across the world became alarmed over reports of anti-Semitism and Hitler's concentration camps. England stood alone in the fight against the aggressors after Austria fell in 1938; then Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania in 1939; France, Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg in 1940 to the Nazi-fascist threat. While stunned and disgusted by the events worldwide, most Americans wished to stay out of the impending conflict for as long as possible, though they kept an uneasy eye toward England, Europe, and Japan.

In the context of fear and destruction of former allies, the American industrial economy was resuscitated fully. The burgeoning war and the need for munitions, food, and other goods, by England especially, opened new markets for American goods. New factories geared up and employment was at all time high. Given this revival, many New Deal programs immediately became obsolete. Roosevelt had always viewed large-scale federal government employment as temporary— just until the economy revived. Therefore, the coming of war meant the end of the New Deal.

The New Deal began to be officially dismantled in 1939 by Congress. Congressional Democrats, some of whom had engaged in rancorous debates over the last few years with the President, teamed up with Republicans to gut the 1939 Relief Act. Over $150 million was trimmed from Roosevelt's modest request and the WPA Theatre and Art projects were dismantled. Later that summer, 775,000 WPA workers were fired. Roosevelt assisted, albeit perhaps reluctantly, in the dismantling. In 1939, he moved the PWA from the Department of the Interior, renamed it the Federal Works Administration, and severely cut its funding. Harold Ickes left the agency in June 1939, while formerly approved projects were being completed. The WPA and CCC continued on in greatly reduced form until 1943, under the umbrella of the Federal Works Administration (FWA). The FWA was intended to finish incomplete projects and train civilians for war efforts. Some New Deal agencies continue on today, like the TVA, FDIC, and the Social Security Administration. Others such as the REA, which closed in 1994, were discontinued when their job was done.

Kentucky and the New Deal

> *I tell you it isn't any fun, but what can you do? Here's the state of Kentucky. It would not put up any money and you say, 'You put up some money or we won't give you any." What happens? They do not put it up. Who gets licked? The unemployed. They always get licked…Believe me that is a tough order to give. It is going to be a long time before I give another one. There will have to be somebody else here to cut this food off from the unemployed.*
>
> Harry Hopkins, FERA Director. In George Blakey, *Hard Times and New Deal in Kentucky*, 51.

The state of Kentucky participated fully in New Deal programs during the 1930s. Despite political struggles between Washington and the state, as well as friction among leaders within the state, as a whole the New Deal experience was positive.

All of the major New Deal agencies were active in Kentucky. The PWA, for example, conducted 600 non-federal works projects that included waterworks, schools, roads, trash incinerators, and power plants. The WPA was responsible for channeling "more than $162 million through thousands of state projects and had as many as seventy-two thousand Kentuckians on the payroll in the September 1938 peak." (Blakey 1986, 59). The majority of these projects were heavy construction of roads, schools, government buildings, and recreational facilities, though a significant sum was also spent on professional work, such as art projects, writer's projects, and white-collar work projects. The CCC, for their part, were responsible for the development of numerous state parks including Cumberland Falls, Levi Jackson, and Pine Mountain State Parks, and fire prevention work on federal and private forest lands. A total of 80,000 Kentuckians served in the CCC over the life of the program, of which ten percent were required to be African Americans. (Blakey 1986, 80).

"Road in Elliott County, 1941." Photo date unknown. (Goodman-Paxton Photographic Collection, 1934-1942; hereafter GP Collection. Online at: http://kdl.kyvl.org/cgi/f/findaid/findaid-idx?xc=1;c=kukead;idno=kukavpa64m1).

The New Deal was not without its critics in the state. While there have always been those who disliked any type of federal government involvement in the state, some of the more enduring criticisms have come from historians of East Kentucky, in particular. (Eller 1982; Whisnant 1980). Some Appalachian historians see the New Deal era as one of lost hope for the region, especially as it related to land use. Eller states, "Ironically, actions taken by the federal government in the 1930s further complicated the desperate conditions in the mountains. Not only did the new social welfare legislation shift the region's dependency onto the federal government, but expanded programs of land acquisition undertaken by the government also displaced hundreds of additional families from the land. When the Forest Service began to consolidate its holdings and when the Park Service and TVA condemned hundreds of family farms for parks and hydroelectric facilities, it appeared to many mountain residents that the government was delivering the final blow to the region's independence and traditional way

of life. As the amount of federally owned land increased, the resentment and resistance of the population grew as well." (Eller 1982, 240).

In spite of these criticisms, the bequest of the Kentucky's New Deal was to put people back to work, and to construct solid buildings and structures as testament to these difficult times. Put simply, the New Deal left a lasting legacy on Kentucky's landscape that includes: new forests, state parks, recreational facilities, government buildings, schools, roads, streets, bridges, airports, entire communities, water and sewer systems, and nearly any other type public works. The remainder of this report will investigate the massive influence of the New Deal in the state.

Conclusion

The Great Depression was a watershed in American history. To those who didn't live it, the experience seems far removed from our present date and time. However, much of the elements that we consider essential to modernity were conceived to ameliorate the crisis that was the Depression. From public water to consolidated schools to concrete highways to social security to agricultural price controls, the Great Depression necessitated new ways of dealing with problems that were ages old. Roosevelt and his New Dealers began the process of federal government experimentation to improve the lives of Americans. It is difficult to say what would have occurred without their efforts. Suffice it to say that our built environment and our lives would not be as rich without the hopes and dreams of the people and the places that were the New Deal.

Section Three

New Deal Agency Synopsis
Introduction

The following text highlights New Deal agencies that were important builders of public infrastructure both in Kentucky, the East Kentucky study area, and nationally. These agencies include: the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the National Youth Administration (NYA), the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), the Rural Electrification Administration (REA), the Rural Resettlement Administration (RRA), and the Farm Securities Administration (FSA). Information is included regarding their history, property types that are likely to be encountered in the field, sources to consult for project information, and provisional National Register integrity standards. The history portion of the synopsis, which examines national, statewide, and regional efforts, should prove useful when considering historic significance of particular property types and with regard to all examples of an agency's historic resources. The sections on sources should allow the reader to more easily uncover extant information.

Integrity standards for each agency are not comprehensive, as the range between roads, schools, and sanitary sewers systems, can be difficult to capture with one set standard. However, some general guidelines are offered that will assist the National Register of Historic Places reviewer with making eligibility decisions. It is strongly suggested that the reviewer also consult specific case studies that may also shed light on the particular resource in question. Thus, if the reviewer is assessing a road for WPA significance, they should consult the section on Transportation Infrastructure and the WPA agency synopsis. It should also be noted that the reviewer has the responsibility for providing integrity decisions. This information is intended only as a guide to assist in making National Register determinations.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration
Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration

> *The American City and local community have experienced a discouraging and wholly unsatisfactory system of financing relief. Since 1929 the communities have shifted the responsibility from private agencies to local governmental subdivisions and from one subdivision to another. We have experienced hand to mouth methods of financing relief and the continual robbing of other necessary phases of local government so that people might not starve… Since that time the demand on federal governments has grown increasingly until the month of April the new Federal Emergency Relief Bill was passed providing $500,000,000 for federal direct aid to state and local governments. This policy on the part of the federal government will be of assistance in relieving distress, not only from the standpoint of the money provided, but because of the position federal government can assume in demanding uniform standards of administration and adequacy in relief.*
>
> Fred K. Hoeler, Commissioner of Public Safety for City of Cincinnati. In *Kentucky City* July 1933, 7-8.

History

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) was established by Congressional Act in May 1933. Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's trusted friend and former relief administrator in New York state, administered the new agency. Initially funded by a $500 million grant from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), FERA was intended to furnish expedient, temporary relief to millions unemployed nationwide. The revolutionary principle that made its way into public policy in this act was that the federal government should assist local or state relief efforts. As American Municipal Association Director Paul Betters put it, "It has now been pretty largely settled that the federal government does have some definite responsibility for meeting the relief needs of the nation. In 1930 when the 'doctrine of local responsibility' seemed to be the slogan of the day, the cities in practically every state carried the burden." (Betters January 1934, 9). Roosevelt and his colleagues acted quickly to relieve the suffering, of states, municipalities, and the destitution caused by the Great Depression. FERA was among their first legislative actions.

FERA was a partnership between states and the federal government. Ideally, states were supposed to fund $3 for every $1 contributed by FERA, though the agency set aside monies for extreme state and local situations with no matching funds. In reality, states frequently abdicated responsibility for the unemployed and attempted to pressure FERA to pay all related expenses. In some instances, as was the case in the state of Virginia, they were successful. Other states, like Kentucky, did not fare as well. (Blakey 1986, 51).

"Wool furnished Kentucky by Federal Surplus Relief Corporation was processed on WPA comforter projects by relief women and made into warm comforters." Relief Worker in Pike County. (GP Collection).

In terms of administration, states were required to have a state FERA administrator and local relief offices in order to receive monies. Policies and procedures came from the federal level to the State Emergency Relief Administration (SERA). (Carothers 1937, 5). The SERAs approved local requests and notified local offices of administrative changes. Local offices interviewed, investigated living conditions among enrollees, and placed needy families on the relief rolls. The amount of relief was based upon an estimate of the weekly needs of the recipient and an

estimate of their weekly income. (Carothers 1937, 7). Relief for the unemployed came mainly in the form of cash payments, provision of fuel and clothing to the indigent, and occasionally employment on public work projects. FERA also asked that monies be used for care of homeless or transients not associated with state or local institutions. Food stuffs for the unemployed were obtained from surplus agricultural products taken off the market to stabilize prices through the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation (FSRC). At various times during the program, canned meat, cheese, beans, flour, and cotton to make blankets and mattresses, were distributed to those on relief. Later on, state work programs disbursed goods from various canning and sewing work projects. Items like mattresses, canned tomatoes, firewood, clothing, and soap were produced by local relief workers. (KERA 1934-35, 14).

Rendering of Carter County Board of Education. (KERA 1935, Annual Report).

Work projects were not the sole charge of FERA. The agency was intended primarily to get necessities to millions of starving unemployed people as quickly as possible. However, FERA had always maintained a small work section, dedicated to employing relief recipients on public projects. Upon initiation of the CWA, as a division of FERA, its employment program was expanded significantly. In fact, it became evident when CWA was closed in March 1934 that FERA would begin an extended work program to satisfy the great demand. According to a Kentucky observer, "This step was the result of careful and extensive surveys which proved conclusively that not only were the employable clients averse and inherently opposed to accepting unearned help, but the thinking public officials throughout the State were anxious to obtain lasting results in the form of public improvements in return for the Federal, State, and Local funds so disbursed." (KERA 1934-35, 1). Unfinished CWA projects were transferred to FERA Work Division in March 1934.

The new FERA work program, established 31 March 1934, was created to assist employable relief recipients in cities of more than 5,000 in population or areas that were primarily industrial. The unemployed in rural areas, it was thought, could fend for themselves through subsistence farming.[2] Projects, which were planned on the local and regional level by SERA engineering staff and the local sponsor, were to be "of a public character, of economic and social benefit to the general public or to publicly owned institutions." (Carothers 1937, 49). FERA provided six main project areas: planning (3 percent quota), public property (30 percent), housing (15 percent), production and distribution of goods needed by the unemployed (15 percent), public welfare, health, and recreation (7 percent), and public education, arts and research (10 percent). (Carothers 1937, 51). Male and female workers were selected off the relief rolls and were paid the prevailing wage for the area. This wage could be no less than 30 cents an hour. Examples of FERA work projects include local property tax surveys; production of mattresses and clothing for the poor; construction of schools, courthouses, and canneries; public health initiatives; traffic studies; and historical research.

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[2] The folly of this exclusion became clear in May 1934. A Rural Rehabilitation program was begun by FERA to assist families with becoming self-sufficient in areas with less than 5000 in population.

FERA was discontinued in December 1935. Work relief continued on through the Works Progress Administration, and direct relief was considered the state or localities' responsibility. (*Kentucky City* Jan 1936, 12).

Kentucky and FERA

In Kentucky, the first federal-state partnership for relief was strained. The Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration (KERA) was established in May 1933 and headed by former RFC director Harper Gatton. (Blakey 1986, 47). The main issue arising in the state was a lack of commitment by the state legislature and the governor alike in providing matching funds for the KERA. Over the period of a year, FERA field agent Howard Hunter and Harry Hopkins withheld funds several times in an effort to force action on the state level. Eventually, the state committed adequate funds for relief in the form of a sales tax in June 1934, but not without backroom maneuvering on the state and federal levels. In sum, Hunter caught Gatton in some questionable activities, forced him out of office, and nationalized Kentucky's relief efforts in November 1933. This meant that FERA, not KERA, controlled relief efforts in the state. Gatton's successor, former Louisville Public Welfare Director Thornton Wilcox, was not well-liked by Governor Laffoon. Wilcox was forced from office in October 1934 upon allegations of misuse of funds by Laffoon, and was replaced by George Goodman, a Paducah newspaper man. Goodman, who maintained political neutrality, was able to calm a stormy state-federal relationship.

FERA field agent, Howard Hunter. Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

In spite of a turbulent beginning, KERA "poured more than $35 million into programs for Kentucky's destitute, and state government added approximately $2.5 million…" (Blakey 1986, 53). *Kentucky City* magazine noted the impact of KERA programs by March 1934, " From 22 May, 1933 through 28 February, 1934, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration made grants to Kentucky totaling $5,915,118 distributed as follows:

> "General Relief Purposes…$4,916,060
> Transient Relief…. $125,000
> Educational Programs….$112,600
> Commodities….$796,000" (*Kentucky City* March 1934, 7).

As historian George Blakey notes, "The rapid planning of the program and its precarious financial status, did not allow for an extensive work program." (Blakey 1986, 54). However, upon inception of KERA's work division, the number of work projects blossomed. The KERA work division was directed by Roland Pyne, Perry Rowe, and then Edward Mayre, all engineers. The state office also contained numerous field engineers to assist local communities with planning complex work projects. Administratively, the state was initially divided into 40 areas and six districts, though this number changed several times. Additionally, each county had a County Work Supervisor, who was responsible to the Area Work Supervisor. District engineers rounded out this huge bureaucracy, and were responsible for project approval on the area level.

KERA sponsored a large number of local work projects across the state (See Appendix Two). From 1 April, 1934 to 1 July 1935, 91 planning projects, 2,121 public property projects, 614 public buildings projects, 330 sewer, drainage, and public utility projects, 146 recreational construction projects, 58 waterway and flood control projects, and 19 projects to make needed building materials were undertaken. (KERA 1934-35, 15). Additionally, various white collar and women's projects were conducted, which included 18 health projects, 54 library projects, and nine traffic studies.

Examples of KERA resources in the East Kentucky project area include: Morgan County High School in West Liberty (completed in 1937 by the WPA), Loyall School in Harlan County, Cumberland City Hall in Harlan County (completed by the WPA), Caney Consolidated School in Breathitt County, Straight Creek Road in Boyd County, Burning Fork School in Magoffin County, and a 1935 project to repair damage from intense flooding in eastern Kentucky. In the latter endeavor, highways and bridges were repaired, and houses were rebuilt. (KERA 1934-35, 80).

Sources

There are very few sources that give detailed information about KERA. The *Annual Report of the Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration Work Division, April 1, 1934 to July 1,1935* has general statistics about project types, and very little information about particular projects, such as a name or location. There is a small section of achievements under each field of activity that contains data about specific projects, like the development of the KERA Seneca Park Golf Course and Caddy Shack in Louisville. Regrettably, there is only one such description of a project in the East Kentucky study area. Straight Creek Road in Boyd County is discussed in the KERA report. In any case, these summaries of achievements, regardless of location, could offer detail into the development of similar project types.

Warfield School, Martin County. The Building was begun by KERA and competed by the WPA. (GP Collection).

Oddly, a study of *Kentucky City* magazine entries has garnered no additional KERA project information. It is probable that searches of local newspapers would be fruitful. Searching under the time frame for KERA work projects from April 1934 to December 1935 could uncover project information.

Works Progress Administration records, such as those noted in the WPA agency description, or Civil Works Administration sources could also uncover specific project information; incomplete CWA projects were transferred to KERA Work Division and not-yet completed KERA projects were accomplished by the WPA.

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) has a record group for KERA. According to NARA archivist Gene Morris, "There are FERA records for Kentucky, but here is no discrete collection I can point out that would serve your purpose [composing a database of KERA projects in the study area]. There are about a dozen or so boxes worth or material that may of use, but it would take in-person research to winnow out what you're looking for.

Even then, I couldn't guarantee that you would find everything." (Morris 2005, email correspondence with author). The information is cited as follows: National Archives and Records Administration Record Group 69, PC 37, Central Correspondence File of the WPA and Predecessors, Entry 10, FERA State Series, Boxes 107 to 112. No follow-up study has been undertaken at this time.

Associated Property Types

Abattoir
Airports
Amphitheatre (improved)
Armory Riding Hall
Athletic Fields
Auditoriums
Bath House
Children's Camps
City Halls
City Streets and Roads
Community Buildings
Concrete Stadium
Court House
Curbs and Sidewalks
Dams
Drainage Ditches
Electric Power Plant (improved and repaired)
Fair Buildings (improved)
Fire Cistern
Fire House
Fish Hatcheries
Game Preserve (improved)
Garbage Transfer Stations
Gas Mains
Golf Course
Gymnasiums
Hospital
Houses (repaired and remodeled)
Incinerators (improved and repaired)
Jails
Lakes
Landscaped grounds
Levees
Libraries
Masonry Grandstand
Military Reservation
Miscellaneous Courts (croquet, etc.)
Municipal Garages
Park Buildings
Parks
Playgrounds
Pumping Stations
Relief Offices
Sanitary Privies
Schools
Septic Tanks
Sewage Disposal Plants (improved and repaired)
Sewer Systems
State, County, and City Poor Farms
Stone Retaining Walls
Swimming Pools
Tennis Courts
Transient Shelters (Ashland and Corbin)
Water Main
Water Reservoirs (improved and repaired)
Wells
Wooden Grandstands

Integrity Considerations

Because of a lack of sufficient primary sources, i.e. a small number of buildings or structures encountered in the field, it is difficult to proscribe integrity standards. However, some provisional integrity standards can be noted based upon archival research. As with other New Deal agencies, KERA was highly labor intensive. Thus, integrity of *workmanship*, *feeling*, and *association* with this handwork should be evident in the historic resource.

It is not clear whether materials were made by KERA workers, but FERA did require materials to be provided by the local sponsor. Additionally, according to KERA archives, production of construction materials did occur, as 350,000 bricks were made, 103,068 board feet of lumber cut, and 57,000 concrete blocks were fabricated. (KERA 1934-35, 15). It is not clear if these were for one project or for many projects. In any case, it is not unreasonable to conclude that some materials could have been handcrafted. Therefore, integrity of *materials* should be important.

Integrity of *setting* may be of minor importance, but the *location* should not have been altered.

Depending on the property type, integrity of *feeling*, *association*, *location*, *workmanship*, and *materials* should combine so that the resource is a recognizable New Deal resource.

Each of the following elements of integrity could be considered important to conveying significance for KERA resources. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be observed to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

Materials
Workmanship
Location
Design
Feeling
Association

The Civilian Conservation Corps

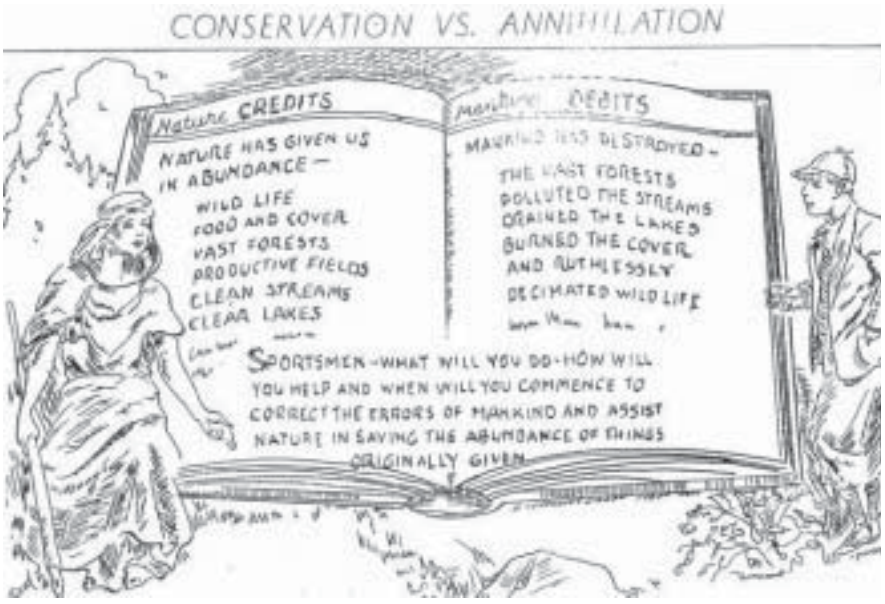
> *I have proposed to create a civilian conservation corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with the normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects. …The type of work is of definite, practical value, not only through the prevention of great financial loss, but also as a means of creating future national wealth….*
>
> President Franklin D. Roosevelt message to Congress March 21, 1933. In *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-42*, 6.

History

One of the most successful and popular New Deal programs was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Widely known as the CCC or the Three CCCs, this work relief program's mission was to promote conservation of the country's natural resources. The program was originally created in 1933 under the Emergency Conservation Work Act (ECW). The duration of the Act was limited to two years, after which it was continued by annual appropriation until 1937. It was then formally established for three years with the Act of June 28, 1937. The CCC continued with yearly approvals until 1943 when Congress ended the program. (Collins 1975, 215).

CCC Company 3355 Baseball Squad, July 1938, Bledsoe, KY. (The Bledsoe Frontier, 1 July, 1938).

The need for an intensive conservation program for the country's natural resources had reached a critical point. Three generations of exploitative American occupation and a lack of appropriate conservation measures brought disastrous results to the formally verdant American landscape. Destruction of forests was especially pronounced. Forests had originally covered 800,000,000 acres of the continental United States but by 1933, only 100,000,000 acres remained of "virgin" forests. As a consequence, soil erosion had become a serious problem. (Salmond 1967, 4). Intensive restoration of forest resources was required to protect land from further depletion. President Franklin D. Roosevelt envisioned the CCC program as response to this urgent situation.



CCC mission illustration. (CCC Camp P-75 (Harlan Co.) Newsletter The Clover Leaf, September, 1937).

Central to the conservation program, the CCC provided employment to jobless young men 18-25, though the age

requirements were altered several times during the program's life. Due to efforts of the Bonus Army, Veterans of World War I were also permitted to enroll, regardless of age. Veterans and the younger men were generally assigned to separate camps.

The CCC official policy of non-discrimination was left to individual states to decide how to select enrollees. This led to widespread segregation among the camps. (Otis 1996, 7). States used quota systems that misrepresented the actual percentage of the African American population, making the percentage of black CCC enrollees artificially low. (Blakey 1986, 81).

Under the direction of Robert Fechner, four federal government agencies oversaw CCC operations and coordinated their efforts. The Department of Labor was responsible for recruitment of the men. Camp supervision was left to the War Department which set up a quasi-military type of system in the camps. Project identification and development was left to the Departments of Interior and Agriculture. (Collins 1975, 216).

The CCC in Kentucky

Kentucky was in the CCC Fifth Corps area along with Ohio, Indiana, and West Virginia. A total of 80,000 Kentuckians served in the CCC over the life of the program. (Merrill 1981, 130). Of this amount, more than 5000 men came from eastern Kentucky. (Frame 1935, 20). Although there was an effort to keep enrollees within 200 miles of their home, not all of the Kentucky enrollees served in the state. Many were assigned to camps in the western states, since the program was based on project need. (Blakey 1986, 80-82).

CCC workmen at Pine Mountain Lodge Site. Photo date unknown. (Photo courtesy of Pine Mountain SRP Naturalist Dean Henson).

Because conservation efforts in the East Kentucky region were mainly focused on federal, state or private forest land, the CCC camp projects generally centered around activities dealing with forest husbandry, such as timber surveys, tree planting, clear cutting, and fire presuppression. At least, 32 CCC camps have been identified in the study region. (http://www.cccalumni.org/states/kentucky1.html).

CCC work projects fell into ten general classifications. Work in eastern Kentucky CCC camps encompassed six of the ten. (Merrill 1981, 9)

1. Structural Improvement: bridges, fire towers, service buildings
2. Transportation: truck trails, minor roads, foot trails
3. Flood Control: irrigation and drainage, dams, ditching, rip rapping
4. Forest Culture: planting trees, timber stand improvement, seed collection, and nursery work
5. Forest Protection: fire fighting, fire prevention, and fire presuppression
6. Landscape and Recreation: public camp and picnic grounds development.

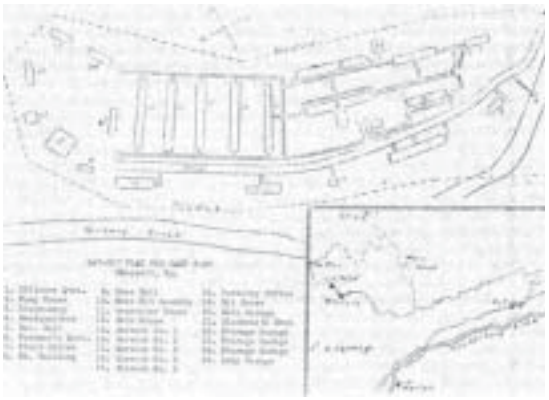
CCC camp newsletters referenced 168 projects in the study region, though this list is by no means complete. These projects ranged from constructing fire towers and truck trails to developing state park facilities and administrative facilities. (See Appendix Four for an approximate listing of CCC work projects in the region). Many buildings associated with the CCC were designed by CCC or Forest Service architects and reflect a rustic aesthetic. The CCC camps in the study area also managed natural landscape features. Projects like timber stand improvements, firebreaks, and dams altered the physical landscape of the region. (Kentucky Historical Society Special Collections, RG2001M01).

The impact of the CCC on the Eastern Kentucky Cultural Landscape is quite pronounced. Forest development in this region of the state was greatly advanced by the work of the CCC. (Merrill 1975, 217). The system of fire towers, truck trails, and telephone lines ensured that forests would be protected. Another benefit of CCC work in the region was improved transportation and communication networks, through development of roads, hiking paths, and extending telephone wires into some areas for the first time. Additionally, the development of the state parks in the area greatly enhanced recreational activities for all Kentucky citizens and allowed them to take advantage of the scenic forests and natural beauty of the region. This particular work of the CCC created lasting sources of tourist revenue. (Frame 1935, 20).

CCC workers building a truck trail. (Kylie, Hieronymous, and Hall 1937, CCC Forestry. Hereafter Kylie 1937, CCC Forestry).

Sources

There is no one comprehensive source for project records available for the CCC. Several sources exist in a piecemeal fashion. Perhaps the most extensive primary source is the *Civilian Conservation Corps Camp Newsletters, 1934-1941* archived at the Kentucky History Center in Frankfort in Special Collections as RG2001M01 (hereafter KHS, RG2001M01). The newsletters are organized in five boxes divided with folders that contain camp newsletters for a particular location.[3] These newsletters give insight to camp life and individual work projects. Several of the newsletters also have illustrations and maps that are useful. One problem is that there is no uniform consistency for the newsletters. Some publications may have numerous projects listed, while others have no projects discussed at all. This uneven reporting of facts can lead to frustration for the researcher of a particular camp.



Site Plan for Camp P-83 in Chappell, KY. (CCC Camp Newsletter The Mountain Echo, May, 1940).

[3] Note: The name of the closest city that the camp was located is listed on the folder. There are no camp or company numbers listed. It is recommended that the researcher have some knowledge of the camp location prior to accessing the archive. Additionally, it should be considered that the newsletters for the same camp could have different names over time.

CCC newsletters should not be considered a comprehensive source for project identification. It is likely that there are many more CCC associated projects in an area. For instance, research of the Putney Archive at KDLA (Record Group 2825) revealed CCC work plans for a few camps in the region from 1939-1943. These plans illuminated many more projects than originally found in the newsletters. Locating work plans for the other camps, however, may require more creative research.

It should also be noted that the Kentucky History Center houses Kentucky CCC oral history records that have been transcribed (Kentucky Oral History Commission Special Projects, "CCC" Collection #45). This source was not consulted for the report, but could serve as a useful tool for further research.

Another resource for certain camps in the study region is the Putney Records (Record Group 2825) and the Kentucky Natural Resources Cabinet, Forestry Division records (Record Group 1900F) at KDLA. These archives have information concerning the following camps: P-74 (Blackmont), P-77 (Putney), P-80 (Garrard), P-81 (Pikeville), P-83 (Harlan), S-82 (Mallier), and S-84 (Harlan). Included in this information are: maps, blueprints, and work plans for the years 1939-1942. Work plans describe projects being carried out by a particular camp during a reporting period. These files can help in identifying CCC resources in a particular area. Maps with camp and project locations are included in the archives and in a few work plans. Architectural drawings for certain property types are also included in the archive.

The National Archives Records Administration (NARA) in Washington D.C. is another source for information on the CCC. (http://www.archives.gov/index.html). Housed in Record Group 35, the CCC archive is organized by Camp number. Information from this source includes correspondence, camp inspection reports, and photographs. In order to access this information, the researcher must have the specific camp number. The researcher can call or email NARA and request available information for the camp. A NARA representative will send information on how many pages they have and the cost for photocopies. Copies of these records may then be ordered from NARA. These records can provide good information about CCC camps. There is, however, scant information concerning work projects. The camp inspection reports sometimes offer a mention of a project, but this is not guaranteed. If work plan records are available, then identification of individual projects accomplished by a specific CCC camp is much easier.

Several websites are also available for the researcher. The National Association of CCC Alumni Organization (NACCCA) (http://cccalumni.org) is particularly useful. This site has some information about CCC camps in each state including company and camp numbers. This source is helpful in finding CCC camps located in a specific county or region.

Knowing camp numbers is also useful for doing research in other archives. The CCC Museum and Research Center is located in St. Louis at the headquarters of NACCCA, and is open to the public. The James F. Justin Civilian Conservation Corps Museum (http://members.aol.com/famjustin/cccgov.html) is an online museum that has a variety of information concerning the CCC. This site contains CCC related histories, photographs, and other links.

Associated Property Types

CCC camps
- barracks
- dams
- dynamite magazines
- education buildings
- garages/maintenance buildings
- landscaping
- latrines
- mess halls
- officers quarters
- reservoirs
- showers
- tool storage buildings
- water supply

Lookout towers
- cisterns
- telephone lines
- towers
- trails
- watchman cabins

State and National Forests
- dwellings
- Forest Service Administrative buildings
- garages
- maintenance buildings
- ranger headquarters
- warehouses

State and National Parks
- amphitheaters
- barbecue pits
- bridges
- cabins
- camp grounds
- concession stands
- culverts
- dams
- dynamite magazines
- garages/maintenance buildings
- guardrails
- incinerators
- landscaping
- lodges
- overlooks
- parking areas
- picnic shelters
- pump houses
- ranger stations
- reservoirs
- roads
- steps
- ticket offices
- trails
- water fountains
- water supply

Truck trails
- bridges
- culverts
- trails

Integrity Considerations

Although it will depend on the property type encountered, a few general statements can be made regarding integrity. The conservation mission of the CCC shaped the types of projects it accomplished. In the study region, generally, the CCC was generally involved in forestry protection and development. A key characteristic of CCC architecture is the use of natural materials. This is especially evident in buildings associated with parks and forests. The use of log and stone was quite prolific in CCC associated resources. Integrity of *materials* is, therefore, a key component for evaluation. CCC resources were built by hand under the direction of supervisors, therefore integrity of *workmanship* should be assessed at a relatively medium level. Integrity of *design* should also be considered in the assessment of eligibility. The resource should retain a moderate degree of its original form, plan, and style. Some

resources, such as, lookout towers, CCC camps, and dams are more functional in nature. These property types should also retain a moderate degree of integrity in *materials* and *design*, since these elements are related to their functional use. CCC resources were associated with natural forest settings in the study region. Integrity of *setting* should be intact and should not be compromised by a large degree of modern intrusions or lack of forest land. The resource must retain integrity of *location*. Additionally, integrity of *feeling* and *association* should also be considered in evaluating CCC resources.

Each of the following elements of integrity are important to conveying significance for CCC resources, and are listed by priority. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

Setting
Location
Materials
Workmanship
Design
Feeling
Association

The Public Works Administration

> *Here is an opportunity to build necessary and desirable public works on more favorable terms than you have ever had before or than you may ever have again. Do you need a new water works, or an extension of your present plant? Do you want a new or improved sewage system? Do you require bridges or viaducts or public buildings or roads or new schools? These things and others you may have on unbelievably generous terms.*
>
> PWA Administrator Harold Ickes. In *Kentucky City* October 1933, 25.

> *Franklin D. Roosevelt has made Cheops, Pericles, Augustus, Chin Shih Huang Ti, the Medicis, and Peter the Great look like a club of birdhouse-builders. For one Great Pyramid or Great Wall, PWA has raised up scores of tremendous dams. For one Parthenon, it has reared thousands of glistening city halls, courthouses, post offices, schoolhouses. For one 366-mile Appian Way, it has laid 50,000 miles of highway over the hills and valleys of America.*
>
> *Life* Magazine, "PWA has Changed the Face of the U.S." April 1, 1940.

History

The Public Works Administration (PWA) was established in June 1933 as Part II of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NRA). Over $3 billion was set aside initially to sponsor federal works projects, road construction, and non-federal (local or state) works projects. PWA was intended to "entice the Nation back to normal status by starting the flow of money through wages and the purchase of materials..." (Ickes 1935, 13). In other words, PWA's purpose was to stimulate the economy through useful public work construction projects and secondarily the agency meant to put the unemployed back to work.

Reviving the ailing construction and transportation industries was especially important to PWA founders. Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona remarked at the time, "The types of projects thus financed have resulted in a vast amount of indirect labor, an intangible benefit which, while difficult to record, nevertheless is reflected in increased orders for equipment, materials, and supplies oftentimes places in communities far removed from the site of the project itself. I am informed that more than 60 percent of the Public Works money thus far expended has gone for purchases of materials that have blanketed the country with indirect industrial and transportation employment…" (*Kentucky City* April 1936, 5). PWA then was meant to be a pump-primer for private industry.

PWA Construction Site in Washington, D.C., 1933 (Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum. Digital Archive online. http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/, hereafter FDR Library)

PWA was also very much interested in public works.
A comprehensive public works program would not only put people back to work, and stimulate private industries, but it would also help build much-needed modern infrastructure in the form of sanitary sewers, efficient water systems, and evenly surfaced roads, in communities

across the United States. Public health projects were especially looked upon with high regard. Thus, PWA financed large numbers of sewers, waterworks, and waste disposal plants. "When economic conditions are such as to prevent our citizens from having a reasonable amount of food, then you are paving the way for a lowering of resistance to communicable and dietary disease …Generally speaking, water supplies, sewerage and sewer treatment projects are given priority, as it is felt that these types of projects are the most important in the protection of the public health and at the same time furnish employment to many." (Dugan December 1933, 24). Power plants were also important to PWA building efforts. As Secretary Ickes put it, "For a hundred years the municipalities of America have been fighting for the right to build and operate their own public utilities…[for] municipalities to manufacture and distribute electric energy at a minimum cost to their citizens." PWA intended to ameliorate this situation by permitting localities to build and manufacture their own electricity and gas through the non-federal loan and grant program. PWA also favored public housing projects (See Section Five, the New Deal and Housing for more details). As Administrator Ickes put it, "Money spent to eradicate slums is a sound and safe investment in citizenship, in character, in health; an investment that for all time to come will pay rich dividends in the form of happier and more worthwhile lives." (Ickes 1935, 181).

(Short and Brown 1939, Public Buildings: A Survey of Architecture of Projects Constructed by Federal and Other Governmental Bodies Between the Years 1933 and 1939 with the Assistance of the Public Works Administration. Hereafter Short and Brown 1939).

The Tri-borough Bridge in New York City was a PWA project. Photo date unknown. (FDR Library).

"During the six effective years of its life, the PWA would finance a total of 34,058 projects at a cost of a little more than $6 billion, employing in any given year half a million workers." (Watkins 1993, 144). A PWA study notes that up to 1939, the agency spent $1,703,000,000 on federal projects and $2,757,500,000 on non-federal projects. (Short and Brown 1939, IV). Numerically speaking, the majority of these projects were non-federal or local in nature, though PWA is known mainly for its large-scale federal undertakings. In the initial stages of PWA, a significant share of the appropriation was given to large federal projects, like the Hoover/Boulder Dam, and to federal agencies, such as the National Park Service. However, the intent was always to invest more in non-federal projects, as they were thought to have better potential for industrial revitalization.

Administratively, PWA was a centrally operated agency with much weaker regional offices. Each state had a State Director or State Engineer, who was responsible for publicizing the program, soliciting applications, and sending worthy projects on to Washington for approval. Expedient approval was not among the virtues of the PWA. The agency, and its cautious director Harold Ickes, moved methodically through the applications and made every effort to assure that PWA projects were free from graft and corruption. Given such careful accounting measures, it was several years before the impact of PWA was felt. In any case, projects were developed on the local level with assistance from the State Engineer, then they were forwarded to Washington for a thorough review. If approved, the project was let out to the lowest bidder among private construction companies. Unlike the WPA, workers were not required to be on relief rolls; most were skilled construction laborers and were paid the local prevailing wage.

In terms of non-federal projects, local communities were offered a grant that paid for 30 percent of the costs with possibility of a 70 percent low-interest rate loan from PWA, though later the grant was raised to 45 percent of the cost. Cities could apply only for a grant and pay for the project costs themselves, but many elected to finance improvements with PWA loans and grants. PWA loans were basically municipal bonds that were purchased by the PWA, as the bond market was extremely weak, and sold at a later date. Given the self-liquidating nature of the projects, the bonds often were sold with a great profit for the PWA. Regrettably, the loan provision of PWA created delay in many states, as many small cities could not legally issue bonds or enter into contractual agreements with the federal government. State legislatures had to meet in special sessions to pass the needed enabling legislation.

Federal projects, on the other hand, were financed through grants to the managing agency. For example, the National Park Service was granted PWA funds to improve Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky and the work was complete by the Civilian Conservation Corps. Other agencies that received PWA funding include: the Bureau of Yards and Docks of the Navy Department, the Quartermaster Corps and the Corps of Engineers of the War Department, and the Public Buildings Branch of the Procurement Division of the Department of the Treasury. (Short and Brown 1939, XIII). PWA is not typically recognized as the source of improvements in the case of federal projects, as monies were added to the particular agency's budget.

PWA federal project with the Army Corps of Engineers, the Mississippi River Dam, 1935. (FDR Library).

The PWA was largely phased out by 1940, when it was folded into the Federal Works Administration (FWA). The FWA, created by the President in 1939, was intended to serve as a clearinghouse for reducing the large number of New Deal work agencies. Though Ickes lobbied heavily for a permanent Department for Public Works in the federal government, his appeals went unanswered. (Ickes February 1937, 18).

Kentucky and the PWA

In Kentucky, the PWA sponsored many federal and non-federal projects. According to historian George Blakey, "Initial planning began shortly after the PWA's creation in summer of 1933; the major work did not begin until well into 1934, however. Most of the projects were finished and phased out, or absorbed into other municipal programs by 1940. During its tenure, Ickes' agency had undertaken six hundred [non-federal] projects in the state, hired thousands of workers, and spent $49 million." (Blakey 1986, 73). A total of 15,295,490 man hours were spent on construction projects in Kentucky, of which 7,694,110 were related to non-federal projects. (*Kentucky City* June 1937, 18). Therefore, at least by 1937, federal and non-federal projects were equivalent in work performed.

PWA Public Housing in Louisville KY, College Court, 1938. (NARA Special Media Archives Services Division, Still Picture Reference Team. Hereafter NARA (Special Media)).

Administratively, Kentucky was located within PWA Region 10, the Central Region, which included Tennessee, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina, though later on Kentucky was moved to the Southern Region. Hourly wages for the central zone were initially $1.10 for skilled labor and 45 cents for unskilled. (*Kentucky City* September 1933, 21). The State Engineer and Director of the PWA in Kentucky for most of the 1930s was George Sager. He was responsible for approving projects on the state level and forwarding them on to Washington for review. Like most other states, fifth and sixth class Kentucky cities were limited and could not issue revenue bonds before the passage of enabling legislation in late 1934. (Blakey 1986, 73).

Federal projects included several post offices, constructed in conjunction with the Department for the Treasury, including one in Pineville and one in Hazard, and river improvements in partnership with the Army Corps of Engineers. In terms of non-federal endeavors, health projects were predominant, as approximately 140 waterworks, 31 sanitary sewers, and 18 waste disposal plants and incinerators were constructed across the Commonwealth for a total of 32 percent of projects. (NARA Record Group 135, Entry UD-19). Additionally, Kentucky's educational plant benefited enormously from PWA funds; 247 university, elementary, and high school buildings were constructed with PWA monies, or 41 percent of all PWA projects. (NARA Record Group 135, Entry UD-19). As with all New Deal building agencies, roads and bridge construction were preferred undertakings. Non-federal road projects were sponsored in local communities, while the federal Bureau of Public Roads gave PWA funds to the State Highway Department to accomplish better thoroughfares across the Commonwealth. Other frequently approved project types include: electric and gas power plants, jails, courthouses, fire department buildings, and municipal buildings.

Madisonville Courthouse and Jail, circa 1939. NARA (Special Media).

According to the 1939 *Public Buildings* PWA Architecture book, Kentucky, which was located in Region 3 by this time, was responsible for few design innovations, which the authors equate with ultra-modern design. "Traditional architecture of the Colonial period still dominates design here…With the exception of a few noteworthy buildings, this area has not contributed much improvement in design." (Short and Brown 1939, XII). In other words, many of the non-federal PWA buildings were more traditional in design, though not necessarily traditional in terms of services provided (i.e. water treatment plants). The 1939 assessment goes on to note that steel, limestone, marble, granite, cement, brick, clay products and lumber were the native materials used in construction and that fire-proof construction was being utilized with more frequency. (Short and Brown 1939, XII).

In the project area, there were approximately 100 PWA non-federal projects. (See Appendix Five). Forty-three of these were school projects[4], and 31 involved waterworks, sewer, or waste disposal plant construction. PWA projects also included an electric power plant in Middlesboro, that may not have been built, and a gas plant in Paintsville. Examples of PWA projects in the study area are a $43,000 auditorium and gymnasium in Catlettsburg, a $42,000 waterworks in Salyersville, and a $25,616 school building in Manchester.

Sources

There are few sources that give great detail regarding specific PWA projects. At this time, no such information has been uncovered at archival repositories in the state, like the Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives and the University libraries.

The National Archives and Records Administration maintains a set of PWA documents. NARA has an alphabetical list of non-federal projects, which is ordered by state. (NARA Record Group 135, Entry UD-19). This list includes the project location, the type of project (no name is given), and the project file number.[5] There is also a list of available project files on microfilm. According to Gene Morris, NARA archivist, most detailed PWA project files were destroyed at the time of the agency's dissolution in the late 1930s. However, the destruction was halted midway through the process, so a few PWA files are extant at NARA. Detailed project files

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[4] Many of these projects contain more than one school. Therefore, the number of PWA schools in the area is likely much larger.

[5] It is fairly certain that this list includes projects that were approved, but never built. However, at this time, we do not know how large the number of uncompleted projects is.

would include drawings, financial documents, labor information, and project location. As one might imagine given Ickes' personality, these PWA files are in meticulous order. A list of PWA projects and available project files from the East Kentucky study area is included in the appendices. As noted previously, the alphabetical list does not contain the name of the project. Therefore, unless a project file is extant, it would be difficult to know exactly which school in a particular town or county, for example, was constructed by the PWA.

Information on federal projects could potentially be found in the archives of the federal agency involved in construction. So, archives regarding Mammoth Cave might be uncovered at the National Park Service Archives, and information about post offices should be included in the Department of the Treasury's archives. In terms of this report, no federal agency's archives have been examined for contents related to Kentucky.

NARA also maintains a PWA photo document file. It is possible that these photo archives could give much more information about a specific project. The NARA Still Pictures Reference Room contains around 15,000 images of PWA projects in Record Group 135. Currently, it is unclear how many of these images are related to projects in Kentucky. According to photo archivists at NARA Still Pictures, there are photographs, negatives, and photo albums in Record Group 135. The photos are listed by project type and are located in RG 135, Series KY SAR, Print Box 7. The oversized albums and negatives are also included in RG 135, Series KY SAR. The best way to find images for your project would be to call the NARA still pictures section (301.837.0561), and request all related images by proper name.

Researchers of the PWA are fortunate enough to have a large monograph of PWA work projects, entitled *Public Buildings: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration, 1933-1939,* published in 1939. This book contains photographs and plans of a variety of project types, like incinerators and schools, as well as general information about the PWA. In particular, the book has a slant toward describing design and good architecture. The PWA book includes several photos of Kentucky PWA non-federal and federal projects. There are no photos of projects in the East Kentucky study area.

As with the WPA and NYA, *Kentucky City* magazine has some project information, though specific project names are rarely mentioned. The magazine typically lists the project type and city/county along with the cost of construction. Cross-referencing the NARA project list with local newspapers and *Kentucky City* magazine could give the researcher enough information to document PWA involvement, if no project file or building plaque exists.

It is important to remember that PWA was constructing projects similar to that of WPA and CWA. Therefore, the researcher should not assume that all PWA projects were large in nature and only check other agencies for their involvement, especially when it concerns the following associated property types.

Associated Property Types

Bridges
Community Buildings
Court Houses
Federal Buildings
Federal Parks, in conjunction with CCC workers
Fire Stations
Hospitals and Clinics
Jails
Libraries
Municipal Garages
Municipal Swimming Pools
Parks and Playgrounds
Post Offices
Power Plants
Public Housing
Railroad Infrastructure
Schools, including primary, secondary, and university buildings
Sewer Systems
Streets and Roads
Waste Disposal Incinerators
Waterworks

Integrity Considerations

Although it will depend on the property type encountered, a few general statements can be made regarding integrity. Integrity for PWA resources is similar to that of the WPA or KERA, however, integrity of *workmanship* and *materials* is different from the other make-work agencies. The *workmanship* on PWA projects was mainly provided by skilled workers on contract with materials purchased from around the country. Therefore, PWA buildings and sites will not necessarily express local, vernacular values as much as WPA or CWA projects. PWA projects are typically of a grander scale, and appear more uniform both within the state and throughout the nation. That said, local governmental entities sponsored applications for these resources, so their influence on *design* is expected to be important. Integrity of *design* and *materials*, then, is important to conveying the significance of a PWA project. *Workmanship* is less important to PWA projects. Integrity of *location*, *feeling*, and *association*, should be intact. The *setting* for these projects can be altered, as it is not essential to conveying the story of the PWA. More field work needs to be done to understand integrity as it relates to waterworks, sanitary sewers, and incinerators.

Each of the following elements of integrity are important to conveying significance for PWA resources. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

Design
Materials
Location
Workmanship
Feeling
Association

The Civil Works Administration

> *By the height of the CWA effort in the middle of January, a shade more than the promised four million were in fact working, with a payroll of more than the $62 million spent on thousands of projects, among them the construction and repair of highways and roads, bridges, schools, parks and playgrounds, hospitals, airports, flood control facilities, privies, and other public works. Overall, the program was enormously popular…*
>
> T.H. Watkins, *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s,* 127.

History

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was created by Presidential Executive Order on 7 November 1933. (Federal Civil Works Administration 1933, 1). The program, which was administered by Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), was intended to carry the nation's unemployed through the winter of 1933-34, beginning in November 1933 and initially ending 15 February 1934, although it was later extended to 1 May. (Betters January 1934, 9). In order to administer the program in such a short time frame, Harry Hopkins, FERA director, immediately named state and local Civil Works Administrators. Existing state and local FERA staff were often used.

A CWA Highway in Minnesota, 1939. (FDR Library).

The guiding principle behind the development of CWA was that work was preferable to direct governmental relief. Roosevelt, Hopkins, and the general public agreed that relief recipients maintained a sense of self-respect when they were actually working to meet their needs. The President also saw an opportunity to experiment with a works program that would furnish much-needed public infrastructure improvements across the nation. If the CWA was successful, New Dealers thought a more permanent work program could be developed.

CWA projects were selected on the local level by county fiscal courts, municipalities, or school boards and were approved by the State Administrator. The projects were tehn sent to Washington for final approval. The process was much abbreviated, as a stated goal of CWA was to get many employed as quickly as possible. Occasionally, a project was directed by a federal agency. These projects are referred to in the records as federal projects. In terms of types of projects, the CWA established the following criteria: "All public works projects of the character heretofore constructed or carried on either by the public authority or with public aid to serve the interest of the general public are eligible, provided that: (1) they are socially and economically desirable, and (2) they may be undertaken quickly." (NARA RG 2920, Series 65, Federal Civil Works Administration 1933, 2). Employees on CWA projects were selected from local relief rolls of those able to work. The goal was to get the unemployed off the relief rolls and on the job by 16 November 1933.

The CWA was the first solely public works entity established by the President, and is a direct precursor to the WPA. As the New Dealers expected, the program was wildly popular. CWA was responsible for the most important public works project to date; that of adding to and improving the nation's poorly planned public works plant. By May 1934, the CWA was discontinued. Projects that had not been completed were transferred to the state's FERA Work Division.

"6,000 Men and a Scenic Boulevard." The CWA in San Francisco, 1934. (FDR Library).

Kentucky and the CWA

In Kentucky, the CWA was just as successful as it was nationwide. CWA was administered by Kentucky Emergency Relief Administration (KERA) director Thornton Wilcox and State Engineer Roland Pyne out of the Louisville KERA office. The state was divided into twelve administrative districts. Of these, Districts 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12 contained counties included in this study. According to a May 1934 article, the CWA "on November 16, 1933 placed nearly 100,000 men at productive labor within the short space of 25 days. These men were employed on 3,500 work projects located in every city and county in the state. At the end of the program nearly $900,000 had been expended for labor and an additional three-quarters of a million had been spent for material, equipment, and team hire… The results it seems, can be grouped into two or three major subdivisions. The first of these of course would be the benefits to the unemployed. The second, the benefits to the retail business of the state, and third, the benefits to the public plant of the state." (Pyne May 1934, 5).

The CWA program provided great improvements in Kentucky's public infrastructure during its brief tenure. The most ubiquitous types of projects were those relating to road and city street improvements, which included concrete paving (handmade in some instances), grading, draining of roads and streets, and construction of concrete curbs and gutters. Because these projects needed very little planning and could be undertaken fairly quickly, they comprised 53.6 percent of projects done under CWA work relief. Additionally, cash-poor counties found these projects easier to undertake, since the federal CWA office furnished the labor, the payroll, and a small amount of material. The sponsor was required to provide equipment and most of the materials.

Another main goal of state and federal CWA officials was the construction of airports and emergency landing fields. The program provided for "wherever a municipality would furnish the necessary ground, CWA labor and material might be used for the construction of an emergency landing field." (Pyne May 1934, 6). As "Kentucky as a state has lagged far behind in the matter of airport development," state officials were eager to promote the development of airports. In sum, 19 cities began building fields and landing strips. In the study region, Middlesboro, Jackson, Williamsburg, Beattyville, and Louisa initiated air field development under CWA. (*Kentucky City* February 1934, 21).

CWA malaria control project near Little Rock, Arkansas, 1934. (FDR Library).

In addition to these endeavors, development of municipal infrastructure was undertaken. City parks and playgrounds, sanitary sewer systems, and projects to clean and construct masonry retaining walls around urban waterways were completed by cities across the state. Other important CWA projects concerned school construction and improvements. Statewide, 81 counties participated in CWA school projects and a total of 306 programs were approved. (Pyne May 1934, 7). Of these projects, 17 were new school construction, 35 were for major repairs, 122 were for minor repairs, and 100 were for construction of school playgrounds. (Pyne May 1934, 7).

In Kentucky, these projects were sponsored by County Fiscal Courts (44.2 percent of all projects), municipalities (19.3 percent), and school boards (5.5 percent). It was noted in *Kentucky City* that municipalities represented such a low number not due to a lack of interest, but rather because of mounting urban tax delinquencies and a subsequent lack of revenues.

In the East Kentucky study area, project types reflect the state as a whole. There were approximately 90 road and street projects undertaken, in which multiple roads were repaired or constructed, 17 school and playground projects, again with multiple schools repaired or constructed in a county, and 13 county courthouse/city hall projects. Other important projects in the study area include: sanitary sewer construction, construction of sanitary toilets in some counties, and flood control projects. Examples of CWA projects in the study region are: a Middlesboro flood control project, construction of Prestonsburg City Hall, and repairing twelve "old-type" school buildings in Magoffin County. Please see Appendix Six for a database of CWA projects in East Kentucky.

Sources

An important source to examine for CWA information is the Kentucky Department of Libraries and Archives' Civil Works Administration microfilm collection from the National Archives. The CWA records are located in Record Group 2920, Series 65-67 and are houses in Drawer 502, Rolls 37, 38, 237-251, and 1402-1407 in KDLA's Archives Research Room. Included on this film are federal CWA rules and regulations, state CWA correspondence, fairly thorough district reports, and county-by-county narrative summaries. Summaries contain detailed information not found in district reports, as well as interesting local data. Local newspapers should also be perused for CWA project information. To examine a list of CWA projects in the study area, please see Appendix Six.

Associated Property Types *(state statistics)*

Airports and emergency landing fields (construction or improvements) 22 airport projects
City Streets (construction or improvements) 331 city street projects
Parks and Playgrounds (construction or improvements) 41 parks and playgrounds projects
Public Buildings (exclusive of schools, construction or improvements) 138 public building projects
Public Schools (construction or addition) 270 public school projects
Roads (construction or improvements) 1,552 road projects
Sanitation projects (water works, incinerators, sewer systems) 202 sanitation projects

Integrity Considerations

Although it will depend on the property type encountered, a few general statements can be made regarding integrity. The CWA was a highly labor intensive program. Hence, CWA is commonly referred to as a "make-work" agency. In many cases, CWA laborers were employed to hand make commercially available items, like concrete, in order to keep them employed and receiving pay for a longer period of time. The quality of materials and workmanship on CWA projects is important to conveying significance, though their presence alone does not make a site eligible. In terms of the integrity of CWA associated resources, then, *materials* and *workmanship* are among the most important elements. *Design* can be somewhat compromised, because CWA project designs were hastily done, though this too tells the story of the desperate times. Integrity of *location*, *feeling*, and *association* with the New Deal should be evident as well. Integrity of *setting* can be compromised, as it is not essential to telling the story of the CWA.

Each of the following elements of integrity are important to conveying significance for CWA resources. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

Materials
Workmanship
Location
Design
Feeling
Association

Works Progress (Projects) Administration (WPA)

The year 1935 will stand out in the history of the United States because in that year another great stride was taken in our march toward economic security. In 1933 we had accepted the principle that the federal government had a share of responsibility for the relief of destitution. In 1935 we laid the foundations for a broad program of economic security. Furthermore, we accepted the fact that security of the jobless involves more than a grocery order; that the needs of the community and the unemployed both demand that we use our wasted manpower on honest work at useful tasks. We expanded our activities into a gigantic public investment program in 1935, a program designed to utilize our manpower and make this country a better place in which to live.

Corrington Gill, Assistant Commissioner, Works Projects Administration. In *Wasted Manpower: The Challenge of Unemployment*, 178.

History

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) is one of the best known New Deal programs. During the program's existence, just about every county and most communities were touched by some type of WPA project.

The WPA was officially created on May 6, 1935 by Presidential Executive Order 7034. (Natural Resources Planning Board 1939, 303). Conceived as a work-relief program, the WPA provided jobs to the unemployed on relief rolls. Work accomplished by the agency focused on public projects sponsored by federal, state, and local agencies. WPA projects ranged from constructing public buildings and facilities to "white collar" projects like educational, clerical, and artistic related undertakings. By August 1939, when the program was renamed the Work Projects Administration, more than 8 billion dollars had been allocated for WPA projects and more than 3.2 million people had been employed by the program. (Natural Resources Planning Board 1939, 303). At the time of its dissolution in 1943, the WPA had become one of the nation's largest and most expensive relief program. (Blakey 1986, 58).

Harry Hopkins, the former director of CWA and FERA, was named director of the newly created WPA. Hopkins' background was in social work. He had also administered then Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt's Temporary Emergency Relief Administration (TERA) program in New York state. This program provided state money to local communities for the care of the unemployed. (Adams 1939, 6). As President, FDR instituted a similar program at the federal level first with CWA and FERA, and then more permanently with WPA. The federal government recognized that local and state authorities had to contend with both the unemployed and the unemployable. With the WPA, a system was created that provided work to employable people on relief rolls. (Blakey 1986, 58).

Harry Hopkins, WPA Administrator, 1938. (GP Collection).

The WPA was organized as a bureaucracy of national, regional, state, district offices, and finally local offices for administration

of work projects. (Howard 1943, 109). Recognizing that communities could best identify needed projects, the federal government enabled branches of local and state government to sponsor projects. The importance of local control became a defining hallmark of the WPA legacy. It was consistently emphasized by officials that project decisions were not being made at the federal level. The sponsors outlined basic plans and drew up specifications, including a complete project description, cost estimates, and labor requirements. These projects were submitted to the state WPA office for approval. Then, federal matching funds were approved at the national level. (Natural Resources Planning Board 1939, 303).

WPA stonework. Date and location unknown. (GP Collection).

Initially, the agency continued work projects initiated by the CWA and FERA. (Adams 1939, 16). As these projects were completed, new WPA projects were proposed by local sponsors. The Division of Engineering and Construction was the largest WPA bureaucracy and oversaw administration of construction projects. Through this division, four main types of major public works projects were administered that comprised nearly 75 percent of WPA work. (*Kentucky City* January 1936, 10). Road and public building construction were by far the most numerous types of projects undertaken by the WPA. Public health projects, such as water purification and sanitary sewers, and construction of public recreation facilities were also popular types of work-relief undertakings. (*Kentucky City* January 1936, 10). These projects supported the WPA's mission of creating permanent improvements for communities. Public buildings, streets and roads, public facilities, and infrastructure construction represented physical improvements that most communities could not have accomplished without the assistance of the WPA. (*Kentucky City* April 1938, 1-2).

It was stipulated in Congressional legislation that WPA projects could not compete with private businesses. Therefore, use of local materials and unemployed workers was stressed. Also, In order to keep project costs minimized, the use of locally available materials was emphasized. (Brent 1991, 16-17). This regulation explains the regional diversity of materials used in WPA construction, including locally quarried native stone, handmade brick, and wood. Additionally, work undertaken by the WPA was highly labor-intensive with little use of machinery. Construction methods, materials, and architectural design varied widely due to the localized nature of the projects.

The WPA was not without its critics. When the program was first endowed with funding through the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, many people erroneously thought that the entire $4 billion funding package was to be used at Hopkins' discretion. (Adams 1939, 13). Given that Hopkins had a reputation as a free-spender, the distribution of funds caused some concern among critics. In fact, monies appropriated were divided among at least 35 New Deal agencies including the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Rural Resettlement Administration (RRA), and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). (Adams 1939, 13). Perhaps more serious were critiques regarding the public perception of the program's projects as "make-work" endeavors. A popular moniker of the day, "We Piddle Around,"

illustrates this point. Hopkins worked to quell this misperception through press releases that provided real statistics about the WPA. Stressing the value of the WPA to local communities, he underscored the fact that projects originated at the local level and greatly benefited communities' public work facilities. (*Kentucky City* January 1936, 10).

By 1939, the WPA was renamed the Works Projects Administration. Instead of being an independent agency, it was moved into an umbrella agency called the Federal Works Administration that also administered the PWA, the US Housing Authority, and the Bureau of Public Roads. (*Kentucky City* August 1939, 7). With the threat of World War II looming, appropriations for continuing the WPA lasted until June 30, 1941. The anticipated national defense program, largely eliminated the need for the WPA, since the labor force was now needed for war-related projects. (*Kentucky City* November 1940, 12).

Kentucky and the WPA

WPA District Directors, left to right: Jesse Creech, J.B. Boddie, P.M. Brooks, George Goodman, Arthur Gamble, George F. Shaw, and Ernest Rowe, 1936-37. (GP Collection)

"WPA State Headquarters, 4th floor, Gibbs-Inman Building, 9th and Broadway, Louisville." Photo date unknown. (GP Collection).

The work accomplished by the WPA in Kentucky was extensive. For example, from July 1935 to January 1938, the WPA was responsible for 90 new athletic fields, 320 new bridges, 310 new schools, 173 new libraries, over 59,276 miles of new roadway, and 116 miles of new sidewalk, 20 swimming pools, and 46,528 hours of study each month for city traffic surveys statewide. (*Kentucky City* April 1938, 7). While there were WPA sewing projects, art projects, and writing projects, the majority of work in Kentucky concentrated on public construction projects, just as it was across the country. At least 75 percent of the WPA money spent was for the construction of roads, public buildings, parks, and infrastructure. By 1938, over $56 million had been expended in federal funds with an additional $13,807,414 approved, but not yet spent. (*Kentucky City* April 1938, 7).

Administratively, the WPA state office was headquartered in Louisville. George H. Goodman, owner of the *Paducah News Democrat* newspaper and former director of KERA, was named the state director of the WPA. (Blakey 1986, 58). Under the administration of Goodman, the WPA headquarters approved projects for Kentucky's 120 counties which were initially divided into six districts, though the number of districts changed frequently.

WPA projects undertaken in the eastern Kentucky region were quite varied, as well as numerous.

According to the Goodman Paxton photographic collection, 374 total construction projects were accomplished in the study region. Of these, there were 127 schools and gymnasiums, 35 bridges, 78 roads and streets, 14 city halls and courthouses, ten quarries, six sewers, four stadiums, two armories, two waterworks, and two fish hatcheries. Examples of typical projects in the area include: Pineville City Hall (Bell County), Hazel Green School (Wolfe County), Ashland Fish Hatchery (Boyd County), the Barbourville Bridge (Knox County), and Highland Road (Breathitt County).

Hazel Green School, Wolfe County, KY, 1935. (GP Collection).

Counties in this study were initially located in the fourth and fifth WPA districts with district offices located in London and Paintsville, though the district's county composition changed frequently.[6] According to the photographic records, a full range of projects were accomplished by the WPA including roads, sidewalks, libraries, schools, gyms, pools, golf courses, water works, city halls, courthouses, jails, and parks. (See Appendix Seven). Many buildings were constructed out of locally quarried sandstone or limestone. Still others were built with brick or frame materials. The work of laborers using local materials created a unique vernacular style that is associated with WPA construction in eastern Kentucky.

Sources

There are two principal sources available for the WPA in Kentucky. The Goodman-Paxton Collection (hereafter GP, 64M1), which is available at the University of Kentucky M.I. King Special Collections and Archives, provided much information on WPA construction projects. The *Goodman-Paxton Collection* is also held at KDLA on microfilm. Drawn from state WPA Director George Goodman's personal papers, photographs, and records, this source provides the best photographic record of the WPA in Kentucky. The photograph collection (hereafter GP, PA64M1) is available at UK Special Collections and Archives, or online through the Kentucky Virtual Library (http://kdl.kyvl.org/cgi/f/findaid/findaid-idx?xc=1;c=kukead;idno=kukavpa64m1). The same information is held in both the UK photo archive and online. Organized by county, the photo archive is a reasonably good inventory of WPA projects, though it should not be considered exhaustive.

"Cabinets in Mr. Goodman's office containing photographs of projects," 1943. (GP Collection).

One caveat to the photographs is that the names are not always spelled correctly on the records. In some instances, a completely different name is provided than the locally known name of

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[6] Please see the semi-monthly reports in the Goodman-Paxton Papers for maps of districts and offices.

the resource. This can lead to some confusion about a resource. Other records in the archive include official correspondence between George Goodman and the Washington D.C. office. These records can provide insight into the administrative practices of the WPA. Some annual and monthly/semi-monthly reports for the districts for 1935-1936 are also available. Information about projects in selected counties can be found in these reports, but generally the photographic records are the best way to access projects.

Another valuable source for information on the WPA in Kentucky is the *Index to the Reference Cards for the WPA* at KDLA Archives Research Room. These are microfilm records from the National Archives Record Group 2920 (hereafter NARA 2920), covering years 1935-1942. There are four rolls of film (T935-20; T935-21; T936-5; and T937-6) located in Drawer 502 in the Archives room of KDLA. The index cards are organized alphabetically by county for each year. (Please be aware that records for other states are also included on some of the rolls but they are arranged alphabetically). Each card lists a project number and description of the project work. Funding amounts are included on the cards and notes about the project status.

It is important to note that some of the nomenclature used on the cards needs interpretation. The phrases "project rescinded" and "project reduced" were encountered on numerous occasions. The researchers for this project concluded that "project rescinded" meant the project was cancelled, while "project reduced" indicated that funding amounts were diminished. Further research may yield the accurate meaning of these phrases. The NARA source revealed some WPA projects that were not included in the Goodman-Paxton Collection. This disparity varied for each of the case-study counties. It is recommended that the researcher consult both sources for a more complete picture of WPA projects in a specific county.

In addition to these caveats, it should also be noted that the KDLA NARA archive contains federal project records that includes procedural issuances, correspondence, and some project reports. These records, located on microfilm rolls 478-522 in drawer 502, are a jumbled mess. NARA archivist Gene Morris, an expert on these records, was consulted by project staff to get an idea about how to utilize the records. Regrettably, Mr. Morris had spent much time attempting to make sense of them himself, including hiring two interns to go through each roll. The conclusion was reached that these rolls are hardly usable. On the other hand, the project indexes (rolls T935-20-T93706) and the correspondences of George Goodman (rolls 1640-1646) contain much important information.

It is also possible to find information about WPA projects in local newspapers and *Kentucky City* magazine. This is a more time-consuming process but it can yield specific information about projects in an area. Newspapers were not consulted for this report, but local contacts for the case-study counties sent in newspaper citations for WPA projects.

Associated Property Types

Armories
Athletic Fields and Playgrounds
Bridges
Clubhouses/Golf courses
Courthouses/City Halls/Fire Stations/Jails
Schools
Hospitals
Gymnasiums
Libraries
Warehouses/Garages
Culverts
Curb and Gutter
Dams/Water Storage
Parks
Roads – grade and drain - unsurfaced
Roads – grade and drain - surfaced
Sanitary Toilets
Sewers
Sewage Treatment Plants
Sidewalks
Streets
Swimming Pools
Water Treatment Plants
Water Mains

Integrity Considerations

Although it will depend on the property type encountered, a few general statements can be made regarding integrity. The construction projects of the WPA were accomplished with hand-labor and local materials. Given this vernacular characteristic, integrity of *materials* and *workmanship* should be given medium to high priority. One of the goals of the WPA was to create buildings and facilities that would have an enduring and permanent effect on a community. This would underscore the need for integrity of *location* to be relatively intact. Integrity of *design* is of medium importance. Buildings and sites should not have too many character-altering additions or subtractions from the original form. *Feeling* and *association* are also important to telling the story of the WPA, and should remain with the site.

Each of the following elements of integrity are important to conveying significance for WPA resources. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

Materials
Workmanship
Location
Design
Feeling
Association

National Youth Administration

Early one morning on the top of the hill, I saw the pale moon shining still, I looked down on the valleys beyond, And resolved my soul should rise with the sun. My troubles seemed to vanish away, As I stood struck dumb by the beauty of the day. My eyes were riveted on the scene, I gazed in wonder and my eyes seemed keen, To note the wondrous work of God, To create such beauty on yonder knob, His work seemed created for my good, To bring my soul out of the deep, dark wood. Then my life seemed glad again. And I, in a joyous mood, began to sing. The trees began to weave and nod, For they too, had seen the beauty of God, I bowed so low I kissed the ground, For in my heart new faith was found. Then raised my eyes in a magic spell, How long I gazed I cannot tell. For God, seemed present everyplace, On earth I could see his smiling face. And, in my heart and memory still, I see the scene on top the hill."

Ivan Eugene Ball, NYA Student from Morgan County. From *NYA Review of Activities, 1935-1936*, 65-66.

History

"Permanent record systems have been made by workers on the WPA Juvenile Delinquency study." (GP Collection).

The National Youth Administration (NYA) was established by Presidential Executive Order on 26 June 1935. The agency was created to help the nation's youth stay in school and gain meaningful employment and vocational training during the Great Depression. Youth were considered to be extremely vulnerable to the effects of the economic downturn. Some of the difficulties noted by NYA advocates include a high juvenile crime rate, lack of financial resources to stay in high school or college, and a lack of vocational guidance to assist young people. (NYA 1935-36, 6). In order to fix these problems, the President created the NYA and placed it under the supervision of the WPA. Aubrey Williams, Harry Hopkins' long time assistant, administered the new agency.

NYA Recruiting Poster, Illinois, 1941. (LOC WPA Poster Collection).

The NYA had as its charge, "(1) To provide part-time employment in WPA projects for young people between the ages of 16-25 who are members of relief households (2) To stimulate the development of socially desirable projects and enterprises designed to benefit youth generally (3) To provide funds for the part-time employment of needy college and graduate students (4) To provide funds for the part-time employment of needy school students chiefly from relief families (5) To encourage job counseling, training, and placement services for young people (6) To encourage the extension of constructive educational and job qualifying leisure time activities." (NYA 1935-36, 7).

In order to accomplish these goals, the NYA was managed on the state level in Louisville by a director, initially Dr. Frank Peterson, and an Advisory Board, which consisted of the state's "leaders in public affairs." (NYA 1935-36, 9). In addition to this, the NYA maintained County Youth Councils, with membership similar to the state advisory board, which were responsible for monitoring local youth conditions and suggesting potential

projects. The County Youth Councils reported directly to the district office manager. There were six districts in Kentucky. Of these, the East Kentucky study area is included in Districts 4, 5, and portions of District 2 and 3. Youth involved in the NYA had to be single, between 16 and 25 years in age, and 90 percent were required to be from families on the relief rolls. Both girls and boys, blacks and whites were invited to participate equally.

NYA Residence Center for African-American Women, Mississippi, 1936. (FDR Library).

The educational-aid project of the NYA was probably its most celebrated work. In sum, students were offered part-time work relief at the school they attended to pay for educational and living expenses. These payments could range anywhere from $6 monthly for high school students to $15 a month for college students. (Watkins 1993, 258). The out-of-school program was not equally as well known, yet it made a difference in the lives of many high school drop-outs across the country. For a group with an average of a sixth grade education, of which 53 percent had no occupational experience, the NYA seemed like a blessing. (NYA 1935-36, 46). These youth were the direct beneficiaries of work projects in local communities, guidance counseling, vocational rehabilitation, and through the NYA residence centers, improved living skills. NYA residence centers, in particular, were intended as an intensive educational experience mostly for rural young people. Students would spend several weeks a month for the period of a year at these centers, which were usually located in urban areas. The Centers were developed to expose rural youth to cultural activities and to provide them with household and farm management training.

In terms of work projects, the NYA had four criteria for project selection: projects for youth community development and recreational leadership (Y-1), projects of rural youth development (Y-2), public service projects (Y-3), and research projects (Y-4). (NYA 1935-36, 26). The first three of these project types allowed for improvements or construction of buildings or landscape features. In particular, Y-1 permitted development of recreational facilities, like parks or playgrounds; Y-2 provided part time employment for improving rural conditions, such as painting school buildings, beautifying school grounds, or construction of community centers; and Y-3 allowed for assistance to local governmental entities on projects like sanitation enhancements. (NYA 1935-36, 46). Projects were chosen in cooperation with local governments and were required to have a distinct public benefit beyond that of juvenile employment.

During the Second World War, the NYA began training young people for employment in the defense industries. The "youth work defense program [was] to provide practical work experience for out-of-school youth and to prepare them for jobs in defense industries…" (*Mountain Life and Work* Winter 1942, 15). The NYA was discontinued in the 1940s.

Kentucky and the NYA

In Depression-era Kentucky, the youth problem was equally disturbing. According to Robert K. Salyers, Deputy Director of the Kentucky NYA, the "problems youth face today in the South are not unlike those faced by young people in other parts of the country but they probably exist in a larger degree because of the economic situation in this section." (Salyers Winter 1940, 16). Salyers goes on to discuss the poor job situation and the lack of adequate training and vocational development for young people. He notes that the rise of technological changes that had altered society necessitated a more educated workforce. He saw that this type of education was lacking in Kentucky.

"High school girls working at home economic bench constructed in NYA work project. Vine Grove, KY, 1936." (FDR Library).

The NYA made a difference in the lives of the Commonwealth's young people. According to a 1937 *Kentucky City* article, over "40,000 needy young men and women in Kentucky have been provided part-time employment through which they were enabled to secure education, training, and work experience." (Baxter July 1937, 9). Among the most significant contributions made, other than to the lives of the youth themselves, were to the physical plant of the state. Much like WPA and CCC, NYA completed major construction projects. However, the majority of NYA endeavors were related to public building and landscape enhancements. In 1936, the state NYA Records and Reports Supervisor, noted the following activities as sample projects, "repair, painting and general beautification of city buildings and property; construction of street markers; house numbering; construction of recreational facilities; landscaping; construction of traffic signs; repairing and manufacturing furniture for municipal buildings and schools; painting signs for guiding aircraft; compilation of special city reports; beautification of parks; provision of library facilities; repair of fire equipment; furnishing recreational leadership for playgrounds; repair of city streets; and other minor construction work." (Baxter December 1936, 20).

NYA workers place street markers in Owensboro. (Kentucky City, December 1936).

Some examples of NYA construction projects in the study area include: Grayson Community Center (Carter County), the Pineville Municipal building (Bell County), improvements to the Barbourville Court House Square and construction of a bandstand on the site (Knox County), development of playgrounds in Corbin (Whitley County) and Middlesboro (Bell County), construction of tennis courts in Pineville (Bell County) and Williamsburg (Whitley County), and construction of sidewalks in Whitesburg. (Baxter July 1937, 10-11).

Residence Centers were popular in Kentucky. One of the more famous of these was the center for rural girls located at Sublimity Residence City outside London. (See Section Five, The New Deal and Housing for information on Sublimity). The Sublimity Center used ten Rural Resettlement Administration cape cod cottages as demonstration houses. The girls

were taught proper home-making techniques and were exposed to scientific agricultural principles. Residence Centers for boys were located across the state in the early 1940s. The closest to the study area were in Richmond and in South Charleston, West Virginia. According to contemporary observers, these centers made a vast difference in the lives of rural youth. A 1941 Louisville Courier Journal article notes about the Sublimity projects, "Girls from the Sublimity show marked gains in weight and health on the project. Then they go home, taking new recipes, new methods of homemaking and almost invariably create an improved situation." (Renneisen 1941, 4).

Band stand constructed at Barbourville by NYA project employees. The NYA at Central City constructed a band stand similar to this one.

NYA Bandstand on Courthouse Square in Barbourville. (Kentucky City, December 1935).

Sources

There is not a complete list of NYA projects, comparable to that for CWA or WPA. Several of the larger scale construction projects, like the Grayson Community building and the Pineville Municipal building, were found in the WPA Index at the Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives. Therefore, it may be worth investigating this source for NYA building projects, as NYA was a section of the WPA for most of its existence. Other sources that are valuable for study of NYA resources include: the *NYA Program Review of Activities, 1935-1936*, by the National Youth Administration for Kentucky located in the National Youth Administration archive at KDLA Special Collections, *Kentucky City* magazine, the quarterly journal *Mountain Life and Work,* and regional and local newspapers.


Pineville City Hall, constructed by the NYA in 1941. Photo taken in 2004.

Associated Property Types

Athletic fields
Bandstands
Community Auditoriums
House Markers
Landscaping
NYA Residence Centers
Public Buildings
    City Halls
    Jails
Public Parks
Recreational facilities
Roads, City Streets, and Sidewalks
Sanitary Sewer and Outhouses
Schools and School Grounds Improvements
Street Markers
Swimming Pools
Tennis Courts

Integrity Considerations

Although it will depend on the property type encountered, a few general statements can be made regarding integrity. Much like the other work agencies, the NYA sponsored a highly labor intensive construction program. The idea was to put young people to work and train them in proper construction techniques. In terms of integrity considerations for NYA projects, *workmanship* and *materials* should be medium to high. Also important will be integrity of *feeling*, *association*, and *location*. Integrity of *design* and *setting* may be less important without destroying the ability to read the resource. It is important to note here that NYA constructed resources are relatively rare. Therefore, overall integrity can be low-to-medium.

Each of the following elements of integrity are important to conveying significance for NYA resources. All of these elements do not have to be present, but enough should be to demonstrate a building or site's importance. The level of integrity for all property types should be medium. Please see the case studies section for more information on specific property types.

Materials
Workmanship
Location
Design
Feeling
Association

Other New Deal Agencies:

Tennessee Valley Authority and the Rural Electrification Administration

Viewed from its broadest aspects, the story of the Tennessee Valley Authority is one of far-reaching experiment that seeks to bring new life to a beautiful country, a rich country—but a rich country grown poor. This development has been called an experiment, but it is much more than that. It is the realization of a vast dream of social betterment as broad as life itself.

Dr. John Manning, Professor of Political Science, University of Kentucky. In *Kentucky City* November 1934, 5.

The Rural Electrification Administration (REA) brought light and power to remote farms for the first time and, in the words of one historian, 'stands out as one of the most significant contributions of the New Deal to the farmers and to the nation.'

George Blakey, *Hard Times and New Deal in Kentucky*, 1929-39, 139.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was established by congressional act in May 1933. TVA was intended to redevelop the Tennessee River Basin, beginning at Muscle Shoals, Alabama and ending in Paducah, Kentucky. TVA was the brainchild of Nebraska Senator George Norris, but was championed by many across the South, including western Kentucky Congressmen William and Noble Gregory. In order to capitalize on electric power development potential at Muscle Shoals Alabama and to improve the quality of life for basin residents, TVA was made an independent governmental agency and was charged with the development of cheap hydroelectric power, flood control and improved stream navigation, prevention of soil erosion, reforestation, agricultural improvements, purchase and redevelopment of sub-marginal lands, distribution and diversification of industry, and providing construction jobs for the unemployed. Put simply, TVA was to undertake planning and redevelopment of a large multi-state region.

Norris Dam was constructed by the TVA in Tennessee to produce electrical power. Photo taken in 1937. (FDR Library).

The problems that TVA hoped to fix were many, but revolved around a systemic misuse of land and waterways, which resulted in flooding, impassable streams, and soil erosion. Consequently, grave social and economic conditions surrounded the neglect. Though too complex to outline in any great detail, the economic and social conditions contributed to a poor quality of life for residents. For instance, area farmers cultivated overworked land, and received little monetary returns. Subsequently, they did not contribute much in the way of taxes to the educational, cultural, or social infrastructure of the region. Thus, schools and highways were underfunded and migration out of the area was high. Electrification, long a staple of urban life in the region, had not reached rural areas. Only four percent of Kentucky farms had power in the early 1930s. (Blakey 1986, 137). According to historian David Whisnant, "the great valley of the Tennessee River…had been reduced by waste and neglect to an economic and ecologic disaster area. Annual floods, abetted by the clear-cutting of forests

and unrelieved years of row-cropping, carried irreplaceable topsoil down the river, destroyed farms and towns, and wasted valuable hydroelectric potential…Sixty-two percent of the valley's 3 million people scratched out a bare subsistence on 350,000 small (70 acre) farms…" (Whisnant 1980, 45). TVA, then, had to coordinate and plan regional economic, social, and environmental rehabilitation.

"Results of Fertilizer – this is a field test of a practical operating farm on which TVA produced phosphate has demonstrated its ability to encourage the growth of a protected vegetative cover and hence build up soil fertility." Photo taken in 1942. (FDR Library).

TVA was mainly concerned with three main development areas: development of inexpensive hydroelectric power, development of phosphate fertilizers for agricultural betterment, and the promotion of economic and social welfare of area residents. Within these broad activities, TVA would improve the lives of inhabitants through construction of bridges and dams, and purchase of "marginal" agricultural lands.

In terms of the East Kentucky project area, there was very little impact made by TVA, though other agencies like the Farm Securities Administration did alter East Kentucky's rural landscape. The main focus of TVA efforts in Kentucky was the Tennessee River basin to the west. In spite of this main interest, southeastern Kentucky cities were very intrigued by the potential use of TVA electric power. At a Kentucky Municipal League conference, Mayor Walter Mynatt of Knoxville discussed the benefits of TVA power in his community, "the overall use of current has increased 25% and that $55,000 has been saved in the street lighting account alone. Customers..have saved about one million dollars through TVA reductions…" (*Kentucky City* November 1939, 21).

THE TRIP TO THE T.V.A.

Oct. 25--The ride to Knoxville

Oct. 26--A.M. Meeting with T.V.A. Officials

P.M. Visit to Norris Dam

Oct. 27--A.M. Return

HEADQUARTERS - Andrew Johnson Hotel, Knoxville

Join The Motorcade

Lv. Lexington City Bldg. 11:00 A.M. c.s.t. Lv. Mt. Vernon Co. C. H. 2:15 P.M. c.s.t.
Lv. Richmond Co. C. H. 12:00 N c.s.t. Lv. London Co. C. H. 3:30 P.M. c.s.t.
Lv. Berea, Boone Tavern 1:30 P.M. c.s.t. Lv. Corbin City Bldg. 4:00 P.M. c.s.t.
Lv. Williamsburg Co. C. H. 4:45 P.M. c.s.t.

The purpose of the Meeting is to ascertain from T.V.A. officials the possibilities of securing electric power for Kentucky cities.

All Municipal Officers are urged to attend this meeting.
County Officials are cordially invited

MAKE RESERVATIONS FOR HOTEL ROOMS AND SUNDAY DINNER AT BOONE'S TAVERN—BEREA—BY WRITING THE SECRETARY — K. M. L. — LEXINGTON — *AT ONCE!*

Kentucky City Magazine, October 1936, 27.

No doubt this potential was appealing to many Kentuckians. City officials in Corbin, Middlesboro, Pineville, London, and Williamsburg traveled to Norris Tennessee at least once to discuss possible distribution of the much less expensive TVA power. (*Kentucky City* November 1936, 21). The consensus of these meetings was that "only Kentucky cities near the Tennessee border and close to the present operating properties of the TVA have any immediate chance of any aid. And then

only after the city has constructed or acquired a distribution system at the city limits." (*Kentucky City* November 1936, 21).

Regrettably, Kentucky enabling laws at the time did not permit municipalities to contract with TVA for electricity. (*Kentucky City* November 1941, 6). Heavy lobbying against legislation by the state's utility industries delayed the passage of enabling until February 1942. (Blakey 1986, 137). The case of Middlesboro is illustrative of these difficulties. Middlesboro, population approximately 10,350 in 1936, had attempted to construct a power distribution plant with Public Works Administration (PWA) funding since at least February 1934. A public referendum was held in 1936 that gave overwhelming support for construction of the municipal plant and use of cheap TVA power in Middlesboro, and the town signed a contract and began planning for the transmissions. (Blakey 1986, 135). In sum, this contract was challenged and taken to the Court of Appeals which ruled that cities could not contract for this purpose without enabling legislation. KHC project staff has obtained no evidence that the Middlesboro power plant was ever constructed with PWA funds. Local interviews with the Bell County Historical Society and field research uncovered no information regarding the plant's construction. Therefore, at this time, staff believes that the structure was never built.

The **Rural Electrification Administration** (REA) and its precursor the Electric Home and Farm Authority were important New Deal initiatives to provide electricity and modern conveniences to rural residents. The Electric Home and Farm Authority was created by executive order in December 1933 to help TVA power consumers purchase electrical appliances. (Blakey 1986, 140). The agency made loans to customers to gauge the demand for modern conveniences. The agency was immensely successful, as "appliance sales in the test area, boosted by these loans, rose by 300 percent." (Blakey 1986, 140).

Stringing rural transmission lines in TVA service region. Date unknown. (FDR Library)

Due to these successes, Roosevelt and Congress established a more permanent authority to provide electric service to rural America in 1935. The Rural Electrification Administration lent money to rural electric cooperatives or nonprofits to assist with construction of generators, transmission lines, and other infrastructure. Loans were offered in areas that were not yet electrified, so as not to compete with private utility companies. REA also offered low-interest loans for "purchase and installation of wiring and of electrical and plumbing equipment." (Adams 1936, 8).

Before the New Deal, rural areas across the United States were not generally serviced by private electric providers. Private utilities believed that the cost of installing lines in areas with dispersed populations was cost-prohibitive and that rural consumers would be unable to pay the necessary rates. This outlook is reflected when examining statistics with regard to rural electric service. Merely ten percent of American farms had electricity in the early 1930s; in Kentucky the figure was closer to four percent. (Blakey 1986, 139). However, the REA made a significant impact in rural America in less than ten years. By 1941, 35 percent of

The REA helped electrify homes in rural areas across the nation. Farm wives could now purchase labor-saving appliances to assist them with daily chores. Location and date of this photo are unknown. (FDR Library).

American farms were electrified, while 44,000 Kentucky farms were serviced or 17 percent of total farmsteads. (Blakey 1986, 141). REA concluded its work nationally in 1994.

The effects of electrification of Kentucky homes and farms cannot be underestimated. Rural homes were outfitted with electrical outlets and lights for the first time, altering the centuries-old relationship with seasonal patterns of light and dark. Put simply, farm families were no longer at the mercy of natural forces; they had now harnessed nature's power to artificially light and heat their homes. Likewise, farmers became modern consumers of electrical products, from refrigerators to radios to toasters to irons to washing machines to electric stoves. Farm women, no doubt, were the prime beneficiaries of this drastic rural change, as modern labor saving conveniences could be purchased for the home. (Blakey 1986, 141). Changes in rural Kentucky, then, included the development of electric transmission lines, and alterations to home interiors.

Associated Property Types

Crossings
Electrical Distribution and Transmission Plants
Rights of Way
Rural Cooperatives Offices
Transmission Lines
Transmission Poles

Integrity Considerations

Much more field work will need to be done to ascertain integrity for these types of resources.

Other New Deal Programs:

The National Housing Act of 1934, Title 1 "the Modernize Main Street Campaign"

When the National Housing Act (H.R. 9620) was passed in 1934, it was seen as a direct response to the need for home improvements. The Act was also intended to stimulate the building and construction sector of the economy that had suffered during the economic downturn of the early 1930s. (Mason 1982, 11). The Federal Housing Authority (FHA) was created to administer the National Housing Act. (Mason 1982, 13).

Title I, Section 2 of the National Housing Act, entitled Housing Renovation and Modernization, provided for federally insured loans up to $2000. This was intended to encourage property owners to upgrade and modernize their buildings. (Badger 1989, 239). In addition to houses being covered by the loans, owners of apartment buildings, industrial facilities, and commercial buildings were also eligible. During the Second New Deal, the maximum amount of the loan was increased to $50,000 for each property, when the Act was amended in 1936. (Esperdy 1999, 52).

As a result of this legislation, building material manufacturers began promoting the idea of "Modernizing Main Street." In fact, this slogan was a trade industry name coined by Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass for the modernization competition they sponsored in *Architectural Record* in 1935. Since the goal was to stimulate construction with new materials, industrial product developers stood to benefit enormously from the program, and they capitalized on this by advertising and getting the word out to potential users.

Logo for the Modernize Main Street Campaign. (FHA 1936, Modernize for Profit: A Manual for Mechanics, Manufacturers and All Owners of Business Property).

In terms of materials, Cararra glass, plate glass, and glass block were incorporated into façade designs that expressed a Streamline Moderne aesthetic. (Wirz and Striner 1984, 71). The idea of "streamlining" had become synonymous with progress and hope for the future, in a time when things seemed quite bleak. (Gebhard 1996, 14). Product manufacturers capitalized on this architectural style by pairing it with their materials in catalogs and publications. Modernizing was marketed as a way to attract customers to retail businesses by revamping a building's appearance. Trade publications for Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company and Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, as well as any architectural periodicals during the time period display this aesthetic movement.

The Modernize Main Street Movement, then, impelled owners to apply for funds to update commercial facades in central business districts with Streamline Moderne designs that incorporated novel industrial materials. Chain stores, that is retail stores under the same management and selling the same merchandise, and banks especially gravitated to the modernization trend and incorporated this aesthetic into new buildings as well as facades of existing buildings.

More research needs to be done to understand the impact of the modernization campaign on housing, both nationally and in Kentucky.

Sources

The following sources are essential secondary source reading for Modernize Main Street information. Other sources that should be tapped include NHA records at NARA, which have not been located by project staff at this time. Also, local newspapers could provide information about these grants.

Badger, Anthony J. 1989. *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933-1940.* Basingstoke, Eng.: MacMillan.

Esperdy, Gabrielle. 2000. *Modernizing Main Street: Everyday Architecture and the New Deal*. Diss. The City University of New York 1999. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI.

Gebhard, David. 1996. *Art Deco in America*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Mason, Joseph B. 1982. *History of Housing in the U.S., 1930-1980.* Houston: Gulf Publishing Company.

Wirz, Hans, and Richard Striner. 1984. *Washington Deco*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Associated Property Types

Apartment buildings
Commercial Building Facades
Houses
Industrial Buildings
New Commercial Buildings

Other New Deal Agencies:

Rural Resettlement Administration and Farm Securities Administration

See Section Five, The New Deal and Housing for more details.